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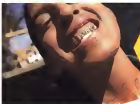
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Newsflash: cool's out

So is the counterculture's most misguided political posturing



ANDREW ROSS

After coming to public attention in the 1960s, coolhousing recently came to an ignominious end. It was declared dead by "Net" in a story out of 2005. Not too late. Last year, a widely circulated article from the L.A. Times (quoted "Fads are so yesterday") argued that coolhousing was not just a fad. That piece ended with a quote from aging fashionista Faith Popcorn, who said "It's like everybody's hip now. It's exhausting. That's rediscovery. It's not original."

That, actually, could spell the end for cool, and with it one of the most misguided political poses of the past half century. Norman Mailer set the agenda for cool in the 1950s, when he wrote that society was divided into two types of people: the "hip," which (and the square) ("coolness"). Cool for hip, otherwise, city (and because the universal sense of individualism, with the hipster as the ultimate iconoclast) not being as hard before the homogenizing forces of mass society.

This is to say that the notion of cool only ever made sense as a foil to something else. I.e. a culture dominated by mass media such as national television stations, radio, television magazines and magazines, and commercial record labels. For the counterculture, mass society was a double-edged sword: only aesthetically, but politically as well. The media were particularly noxious, as the primary mechanism through which elites laid on to power. The people were kept pacified by visions, terrified by the media's power, and controlled by the products sold on the air in bars. The hipster evaded a political statement by rejecting mass society and its consumer agenda.

But that trade, cool is not political. Never was. What it's been, for most of the past 40 years, is the central form of status in urban life. To use that, and as an appreciation that there was always a tremendous amount of friction in the transmission of cultural information. It took a long time for individual taste to be passed on to others or to move from the streets of London or New York City to the suburban basements of Omaha or Ottawa. The phenomenon we call "cool" was a consequence of that friction. Coolhouses exploited the time lag for profit and began for the power to resist everyone else with money.

But that mass media ecosystem has disappeared, replaced by the marketplace culture of the Internet with its blogs and paid posts, in which there is no longer any distance between producers and consumers. The

really interesting bit is not, as Faith Popcorn would have it, that everyone is cool; it's that no one is. The idea of something new and brief consensus shatters, the moment they appear, like last year's badly grown-out hair or 2003's Ugg boots or the notion that Barney was the year's hot new drink.

The prevailing aesthetic is not cool, but quietly dominated by unpredictable and idiosyncratic mash-ups of cultural elements that bear no meaningful relationship to one another. Appreciating the sort of quirk is the only way to navigate the movies of Wes Anderson (Jeff Goldblum in an "It's a Wonderful Life" parody) or the various tangents of Dave Eggers' McElroy's publishing empire. For a daily dose of the quirk aesthetic, go to www.buzzfeed.com, a "dictionary of wonderful things" that goes well over 500,000 visitors a day. A typical week of entries will draw your attention to videos of a man dropping 20 kg of 500-penny coins, an archive of Soviet-era children's cartoons and a *make-your-own*

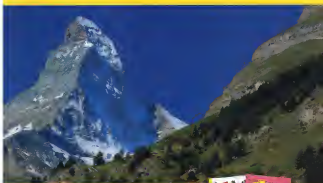
The truth is, cool is not political. Never was. What it's been, for the past 40 years, is the central form of status in urban life.

sen says blog. There's no rhyme or reason to any of it, apart from that in all, it is very quickly very, kinda new.

The kids know all of this instinctively. They never really experienced the quantity of mass society; they don't feel any great urge to stand against it. That's why they adopted the word "random" as their preferred term of appraisal. The people who have a problem with the death of cool are aging hippies and other suburban counterculturalists who remain attached to the idea of a mass society and its right wing agenda of cultural conformity. Well, the mass-media model has vanished into digital dust, and something interesting didn't happen on the way to the public seeing the means of cultural production the system didn't collapse, capitalism wasn't overthrown and we didn't become any less consumerist. The hegemonic is not too soon dismantled by right-wing values.

It'll be the new culture of quirk that give rise to a new political consciousness? Perhaps, though probably not. But what it has done is eliminate cool as a needless social hierarchy. That's something in which the status-conscious rest of us can quietly rejoice, knowing that we have one less thing to be anxious about. ■

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GOOD NEWS

The good fight

By next month, Canada will have 1,999 troops in the southern Afghan province of Kandahar. The force will reportedly include up to 180 commandos from the elite Joint Task Force 2 unit. In March, a Canadian tank company of the multinational brigade will open under more aggressive rules of engagement as NATO tries to quell a rising insurgency by the Taliban and al-Qaida. It can't happen soon enough, with tens of thousands of the bodies of a school headmaster who had been educating young Afghan girls. The Taliban beheaded the man in front of his family. Provincial officials say it's the latest in a spate of barbaric attacks that have forced several schools to close.

Straight from the top

As of January 1, executives of companies in Ontario have to settle what they say, write, and do. Bill 161 is now in force, making it far easier for investors to launch class action lawsuits against corporate executives who misled the public. The new tighter regulations apply not only to corporate documents, but also to press releases and speeches. It's a big step forward for corporate accountability, and drives home the point that little white lies are never okay from our corporate leaders. Now, if we could just get the same principle applied to politicians.

Where's our fear?

We got a strong sense of it just in reading the federal Liberal's platform for British Columbia. The Liberals promised to work with the City of Victoria to end new sewage dumping ("From Sea to Smoking Sea," Maclean's, Oct. 10/06), create a national centre for disaster response training and research in B.C. ("When B.C.

Gets Hit," Maclean's, May 26/06), and support an Air India inquiry ("It can't and here," Maclean's, May 26/06). We knew they didn't believe it. Robertson's chief editor.

Spies like them

Maclean's columnist Mark Steyn laments the decline of the fictional spy thriller (see page 14). The lovers of the genre can turn to its real-life counterpart to get their fix. *State of War: The Secret History of the CIA and the Dark Administration by Jason Ross*, alleges that a series of bungled U.S. intelligence operations may have resulted in Iraq's acquisition of



IN THE FRONT: 1,999 Canadian troops are heading to Afghanistan.

enriched nuclear weapons, exposed the identity of U.S. spies. True or mostly true, the story is a brilliant fiction. Harbison Bond website.

Off the hook

As of last week, crime is officially banned from the seasonal festivities. Activists and environmentalists have put an indefinite halt to the global trade of the silly and outrageously expensive holiday in an attempt to protect the world's dwindling wild geese population and to curb overfishing and ocean overfishing. It's good news for the fish, great news for all those mad as hell spending they like to eat fish eggs.

Welcome to Germany

One can reasonably argue that Western nations have been too in promoting their own values among immigrants but a new citizenship test introduced in the German state of Baden-Württemberg might be a slight overcorrection. Multinational testing to become German citizens will be queried on their views on bigotry, homosexuality, clothing for young women, and sexual abuse, among other matters. They will also be questioned on their loyalty to Germany. Some officials say the idea is to weed out Muslims accused for hits in Germany.

Another final week in Iran. It started with President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad accusing Europe of having attempted to complete the Holocaust by establishing a Jewish state in an emboldening Muslim region. (It was a novel argument from Ahmadinejad, who is otherwise an ardent Holocaust denier.) On Tuesday, the Iranian government vowed to return to nuclear research progress, despite earlier promises to suspend such activities. Re-elected this commitment, a spokesman blithely replied, "Research has no own definition. It is not related to industrial production. Hence, it was never part of the negotiations." Iran then blew off a meeting with the UN agency that monitors nuclear programs.

Buzz off

Canadian Auto Workers president Ron Hargrove criticized the RCMP last week for going public with its investigation into the Liberal government's sensitive trust agreement in the middle of the election campaign. He said it was not "pro-people, police work" and hinted the move was politically motivated. But isn't a criminal probe of the strong government the kind of thing Canadians ought to know about before they go to another election?

Beijing's enablers

Microsoft Corp. has once again moved to demand from China's Communist government to shut down the Internet blog of a political dissident. The company isn't the first to be cowed by Beijing. Last year, Yahoo! Inc. withdrew over the identity of its Chinese journalist who posted messages on a pro-democracy website, resulting in a 10-year prison sentence. Yes, China represents an enormous commercial opportunity. No, it's still not right.

He's still nuts

Another final week in Iran. It started with President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad accusing Europe of having attempted to complete the Holocaust by establishing a Jewish state in an emboldening Muslim region. (It was a novel argument from Ahmadinejad, who is otherwise an ardent Holocaust denier.) On Tuesday, the Iranian government vowed to return to nuclear research progress, despite earlier promises to suspend such activities. Re-elected this commitment, a spokesman blithely replied, "Research has no own definition. It is not related to industrial production. Hence, it was never part of the negotiations." Iran then blew off a meeting with the UN agency that monitors nuclear programs.

Nice knowing you

Comedian much? Any so to the Oscars, even though history suggests they should. Jon Stewart gave us a delightful last week when it was announced the little-known world MC that year's Academy Awards that a long line of brilliant comedians have died on this stage, including David Letterman, Steve Martin, and last year's host Chris Rock, who said to himself (John Lee and offend his god Sean Penn). R.



'If it's gangs that are committing the crimes, well then, go after the gangs. And don't be afraid to go after them because they're black.'

WILLIAM BRATTON TALKS TO LINDA FROM

William Bratton has earned a reputation as the most effective police chief in America. As chief of police in New York City from 1994 to 1996, Bratton is credited with the miraculous turnaround of that city's crime record. Currently chief of the LAPD—the only full-time chief of police in a major city—Bratton is a pioneer of the “Broken Windows” theory of law enforcement. Bratton works on the principle that by cracking down on petty “city-style” crimes—panhandling, drug use, aggressive begging—a city can keep its streets safer and more secure. Crime is viewed as an “epidemic” that must be eliminated and crime must become embedded in a constant war against crime. By the time Bratton left the NYPD, murders in New York had fallen to 964 a year, from a high of 2,263 in 1990. During his first two years in Los Angeles, overall crime had dropped 11 per cent, homicides 20 per cent. In Canada, the number of homicide cases in 2004 increased to six of our new largest cities.

Q Chief Bratton, how do you see crime in Toronto?

A: Yes, quite a few times.

So you know a little bit about security? You know about our problem?

A: At 27 per cent increase in the number of homicides from 1995 to today. A rising day after day where 20 per cent increase in homicide was going down during a year ago about on a major shopping street. Can I tell you—at

would be safe if you were our police chief? Well, thank you. I think the police believe that you are experiencing what is the racial or ethnic background of the gangs?

That's a really difficult question. Some say it's as high as 50 per cent. I'm not sure. But you know for sure, because people here don't like to talk about it.

You need to talk about it. It's all part of the issue. If it's a Jamaican gang that is committing the crime, well then, go after the Jamaican gangs. And don't be afraid to go after them because they're black. That's the best thing you need to be concerned with.

Oh, yes. I can see the complaint coming in already. You have to understand the climate here. The major local daily in Toronto, the Toronto Star, says it doesn't believe in “generalized” labeling police by ethnic origin.

Well, that really badly identifies who they are, doesn't it? The next step will be to refuse to allow the police to identify people by their race or ethnic origin. That type of societal consciousness really goes to extremes.

I've now just heard that Toronto's major and our prime minister blame the Rising Day shooting on our Americans.

Men, listen, yes. I've talked about the problem of crime coming in from the United States, but what about the guns? You have to look at all sources of the problem. It is a combination of all purchases, which certainly contributes to our problem here in the United States, but ultimately the responsibility is on the individual who pulls the trigger.

Back to my fantasy about you moving to Canada. What are the top three things you would do to reduce our crime?

A: I would never put myself in the position of trying to tell your chief of police what to do. You've got a very able chief of police in Toronto. I know him personally.

What you should do is take a look at what is working elsewhere and then see what applies to your particular situation. It there any reason the Broken Windows approach cannot be applied to Canadian cities?

Nowadays are still. Each place has its own ideas. But there are a number of things that have worked globally in the United States, and, indeed, around the world. One is the idea that police can prevent crime. And the focus has to be on the prevention, as much as the response to it. And that's a very critical distinction. In my country the ‘Yes, Sir’ and ‘Yes, ma’am’ as a result of the societal changes in our country in the ‘Yes’—the focus of policing went from the prevention of crime to the response to crime. And that's because we commonly believed that crime was caused by racism, poverty, the economy, demographics. None of those things cause crime. But if they can be significant influences of given times. In the case of Toronto, you've got the issue that a large part of your violent crime problem seems to be influenced by race. So that's an influence. But what the police need

to focus on is the behavior. But our current political climate finds that a very effective proposition. Our federal minister of justice, for example, has stressed that he wants to “tackle the causes of crime as well as the crime itself.”

Well, that's where you're going down the wrong path. Certainly, you try to solve the economy and the economy problem. You try to solve the crime problem. But there may be an appropriate strategy for a period of time—particularly focused areas where you are going after the 10 per cent of the population that traditionally accounts about 50 per cent of the crime. Police exist, in a democratic society, to control the behaviour of individuals. The challenge and responsibility is to do it constitutionally, to do it civilly—meaning you don't police minority neighbourhoods differently from majority neighbourhoods—and compassionately—meaning, in a broader sense, that you do not respect, not in an uncaring, indifferent manner. You have to be concerned with the rights of people. You have to be concerned with who you respect with people.

On that front, in your first year as chief of the L.A. police, you managed to reduce the homicide rate by 23 per cent, and complaints against the LAPD went up 22 per cent. But if you look at the statistics of complaints, a 12 per cent increase amounted to fewer than 1,000 additional complaints in a city where we have millions of interactions every day.

The Broken Windows approach to policing is effective and increases the frequency of interaction with citizens on a daily basis. It is a method of policing that is possible only with the right political will behind it.

Political will is absolutely critical. In other words, if your government, your society is saying, “We don't want you focusing on the little things because we're concerned it might be an automatic escalation,” or “We've overreacted to a small representative of the ethnic backgrounds of people”—well, that's the latest excuse that get Americans pulling teeth to reach trouble in the ‘60s, ‘70s and ‘80s. The attitude was, “We're not going to police some of these minor issues in the minority neighbourhoods. After all, what's the harm? There are really no serious to punishment, or people hanging on the outside of a drug store.” But when we didn't control that, that was the issue was the neighbourhood. It was the number-one thing that that neighbourhood, and all the people who lived there, were ultimately the victims in their neighbourhoods were destroyed. It guaranteed that if you don't control those minor types of violations, you are

going to create a climate in which the people perpetrating them are undisciplined to try and get away with more. And that's exactly the concern that was coming away at New York until the ‘90s when Giuliani and I came in. Giuliani provided the political will and leadership. And I, together with the 35,000 cops around me, provided the tactics and the strategy and the philosophy.

In a speech in the Congress of Mayors in May 2000, Giuliani put it like this: “New York City during the 1960s, ‘70s and into the early ‘80s during the symbolic decline. It was a national magazine cover describing New York City in 1990 as ‘the Raging Apple,’ a city in decline. And at that time, people in the City of New York accepted it. They accepted the idea that this was our fate. They were as if the city that had seen our greatest days.” These comments address the idea that a mayor and a police chief alone decide how much crime they are prepared to tolerate. As a society we can have a lot more control over the quantity of crime than we imagine.

That's going to be the great risk, I think, for you in Canada—the danger is you are going to end up putting all the blame and fault on the police. So, actually, in a democratic society, the police are responsible to the political leadership. So if you have political leadership that's not going to empower the police to do what needs to be done—then you are going to go down the same slippery slope the United States went down in the ‘70s and ‘80s.

NYPD Leader Jack Leary has happened to “disappear” and “poverty” as the root causes of crime.

When you put too much emphasis on the idea of poverty being the cause of crime, you're at such a stupid stage just because you're poor or disadvantaged, you are going to react to crime to get by. And that's a phenomenally racist and inaccurate attitude. The vast majority of people who are poor do not react to crime. A small percentage do. But it is correct that one of the influences on crime is poverty. If you make it a citywide, you will have an issue. In our case in Los Angeles, and in your case in Toronto, you'll create another toxic coming in, which will spend more money, create more jobs and create more tax revenue. But if the place is deemed to be unsafe, you are not going to have that economic benefit.

Another theme focus on social and economic concerns, you're sad and in the past that out of the most important ways to reduce crime is to go after the victims.

Well, what are the lessons you're getting from fighting over—who controls the drug trade?

Yes. Really. So to do that, they're going to do the same thing they do in Jamaica, which

is to resort to violence as the first way of dealing with it. Whether it's police delegating that or trying to control the gambling or your gangs coming from Eastern Europe trying to control the credit card fraud, they all have their specialties. It comes back to one principle: The criminal justice system, if properly coordinated, and properly supported politically and publicly, can in fact control crime. And the way you control crime is through controlling behaviour.

In the situation in Canada is far from perfect.

The good news is we know what to do about crime. You need to have political leadership, police chiefs, and the community working together, and the community police approach.



What we didn't understand about “victimless” crimes was the “victim” was the neighbourhood.

community principle. We need to develop priorities and develop laws. And also go from the underlying understanding that crime is caused by individual behaviour. And that's where the police should focus most of their energy on controlling that behaviour. But they have to do it in ways that are minority sensitive and are not seen as racist, brutal or corrupt. And the best way to do that is to be very transparent about what you are doing.

The good news for Canada is that right now there's a lot of momentum—and you have a lot of talent. You can overcome the circumstances. They're not as dissimilar. What works for dealing with the situation in the United States works in Canada too. ■

THE HARPER AGENDA

He's careful not to get cocky this time, but the Tory leader is already planning how to manage power, and where he'll take the country if he wins

STORY BY JOHN SEDGWICK, PHOTOS BY PETER BRIDGES



AW, SHUCKS: IT'S ALL 'TAKEN A BIT OF GETTING USED TO'

Stephen Harper learned the hard way not to revel in former-minister status. When his Conservatives pulled ahead during the 2006 election, he readily accepted almost winning a majority, but when he ousted the opposition team that would cost their way into office, and Tories generally talked big—speaking proudly of how to help the Liberals step back to work. This time out, as polls last week showed him again edging into the lead, Harper and his advisors were a study in guarded optimism. No boasting about managing their rise into the Langevin Block, the imposing Second Empire style office building across from Parliament that's home to the Prime Minister's Office. Instead, Harper spoke like a man too modest to easily absorb the idea of running the country. "My wife and I were talking about about that other night," he told a group of journalists. "We've come a long way as a party, as a movement, in a relatively short period of time. So it's taken a bit of getting used to."

Shucks, folks, it's all kind of humbling. It says that Harper is not the type to be cowed by the prospect of power. He's a calculating, confident strategist who has surely run through

the possibilities enough times to be cynical, so why now? He knows little doubt that he has stepped out again for riding over and getting rolling. In campaign speeches, he laid out his early priorities, like managing a government crisis package and reducing the GST, in crisp detail. In an interview, he skirted tactics for pushing these first measures quickly through what might be a short-lived minority government—even arguing the Liberals would feel compelled to offer occasional support. But Harper conceded that fulfilling what's arguably his most ambitious promise—securing a deal with the provinces for guaranteed health care—will take more time. He links that policy to his broader aim of overhauling Ontario's education and health care. And it's this federal-provincial relationship act that stands to emerge as the defining thrust of a Harper government.

The Tory leader who publicly shows voters as warning to be the product of a complex personal evolution. Once known as a hard-right-wing ideologue, Harper has reinvented himself as a pragmatic politician. Even some who clashed with him in the rise through the ranks of the Reform and the Canadian Alliance parties, only now to meeting and leading the new

Conservatives, now regard him as a skilled coalition-builder. Rick Anderson, a former Press on a Manning adviser who studied with Harper back when they were both key players in Blue Canada's Reform movement, says Harper appears now to see the need to avoid being "trapped in the pocket" of relying too much on a narrow group—his cluster of long-time Calgary loyalists.

If Harper does win, how much he manages to accomplish depends on the political lay of the land after the election. Based on polls from late December and early January, the Langer Institute for the Study of Public Opinion and Polling last week projected 135 seats for the Conservatives, 104 Liberal MPs, 50 for the Bloc Québécois, and just 25 NDP seats. Those are the same kind of numbers that changed so dramatically last time around, but even so, few make a scenario give either the Conservatives or Liberals much chance of winning a majority. That means whatever the next government is contingent on getting enough support from other parties to win votes in the House. Some observers say that turns NDP leader Jack Layton into an automatic kingmaker—but Harper isn't buying it. "I wouldn't jump to the conclusion that a

minority Parliament would mean the NDP would hold the balance of power," he said in a wide-ranging question-and-answer session with Rogers Media last week. "There are all kinds of other possibilities."

Among those is the chance that the NDP will return too few MPs to combine with the governing party to make up a majority in the 308-seat House. That would force Harper to seek the backing of the Bloc or, improbable as it might sound, the Liberals. Harper is surprisingly blunt on the likelihood that Liberals would choose him the necessary support as a case-by-case basis. "The Liberals will be the really beginning vote," he professed. "The Liberal party is saying things on immigration, on income trusts, on health care, on taxes, that increasingly sound like a Conservative agenda." Harper also speculates that they might have political reasons for temporarily

propping up a Tory regime. "I don't think the public would have much time for a Liberal party that was just declared running around and finding an excuse to declare the government," he said. Harper didn't couch on the possibility that Paul Martin, if he's elected, would resign, launching a leadership race. The Liberals would need to do so before an early election but early election would mean a Tory minority. But after some Conservatives are speculating—largely about precisely that.

On other possible House strategies, Harper suggested finding common ground with the NDP, even though Layton last week took a harder line on the dangers of a Conservative win. "There are some things that we can work with the NDP on," Harper said. "Particularly, some of the democratic system reforms, some of the reforms to accountability." He was less forthcoming on working with the Bloc—understandable, given the way he is being panned by Martin as well as supporters. But Harper did say he would court an alliance support some of the time. "I won't hesitate to remind you that the Bloc and the NDP worked with us to defeat this government," he said. "I think the public would expect them to then make some effort

to make our government successful."

If Harper is right about the potential for shifting 31 more coalition, he has taken that cobbling together enough MPs to win votes will depend on politics in the other parties can swallow the loss of the platform. At the top is guessing what he calls a "federal accountability act," which would impose tougher rules on lobbyists and tighten up election financing regulations. Harper pledges to ban strictly corporate and union donations, and cut personal contributions to no more than \$1,000, down from the \$5,100 now allowed. On the front, he expects NDP co-operation, and even refers approvingly to reform ideas proposed by Ed Broadbent, the retired Ontario MP, former NDP leader and retired editor-in-chief. Not comes to relief, especially cutting the GST, but by a single percentage point, and then by another point later in the mandate.

Showings in Ontario have turned gas crime into a high-profile election issue, and one on which Liberal and Conservative rhetoric makes the point more clear. Martin's pledge to ban handgun sales was a bid to force the Tories into the defensive on law and order. But on some other policies, such as cracking

He doesn't rule out Liberal support in a minority. 'The Liberals will be the really big swing vote.'

er. But it's emphasizing, for instance, longer mandatory sentences for firearms offences. Harper would oppose mandatory minimum prison sentences of five or 10 years for major firearm crimes, while Liberals would double some of the current mandatory sentences. If Harper vetoed a minority finding enough consensus granted to win federal support on some version of get-tough sentencing, it's inevitable.

On another campaign defining wedge issue, child care, it's hard to imagine Harper securing Liberal votes in the House—for that matter, Mac or NDP support. The signature Tory policy would give parents

There are some things that we can work with the NDP on. Particularly, democratic reforms and accountability.'

\$1,100 a year for each child under 6. All forms of the after-school program funding money to the regulated daycare providers, not directly to families. Of Harper's top priorities, this one looks like the hardest sell to get through the House.

Even so, Harper's human child care with government, a GPC cut, and end-on-line resources on initiatives that he dubs "quite frankly, we can do fairly quickly." It seems to have died at that with an eye to getting a few things done in a hurry in an unopposed, while minority situation. He admits it would take longer to deliver on his little, negotiating deal with the provinces for a unitary government, which would include a new commitment to help provinces deal with a province. If health care wasn't available quickly enough at home. Federal-provincial deals of this sort are notoriously tricky to hammer out. Harp

er further complicates the process by linking his health care policy to a much more wedge to replace to integrate federal-provincial relations. For a would-be prime minister, his goal is a head-banging one: to somehow leave Ottawa with less money and the provinces with much more.

Harper accepts the "fiscal imbalance" as a real problem. It's the axiom, rejected by the Liberals, that since Ottawa balanced its books in the last 10 years, the federal government has been financially back, while the provinces (except all rich Alberta) are unfairly burdened. But Harper goes further than saying that provinces need more money to pay for responsibilities like hospitals and schools. He demands that Ottawa would actually benefit by paying itself as a higher fiscal position, "so the federal government is forced to adopt good management itself." Making that claim, he immediately sounds like the harder-edged Harper of old, a decreasing government in total for its own good. He also employs a term that the key Martin boss, framed in Liberal TV ads, the Liberals have delivered a string of balanced budgets, starting when he was finance minister. Harper first broke "a \$40-billion-dollar surplus was not necessarily a sign of good management."

His willingness, even eagerness, to see Ottawa more financially constrained, the province less exempted, might turn out to be a unique feature of a Harper minority. More than any personal policy milestone of recent memory, he focuses on outside's view of the national government. Perhaps the most politically redemptive move in his public career came in 2001, when along with five other political and academic critics, he signed an open letter to Ralph Klein, urging the premier to "back down as national Alberta, to leave the extent to which an aggressive and hostile federal government can encroach upon legitimate jurisdiction." With that, on his second, Harper is vulnerable to accusations of being fundamentally anti-Ottawa. No matter how carefully he coaches back to shift the balance in favour of the provinces. On the other hand, premiers eager to make hay while a rare day



ON THE TRAIL: Child care, ethics, the GPC cut, and more may be on the daily agenda? On the left (above): Toronto streets

controlling prime minister is in power might still rally behind whatever he proposes.

Much of his inner circle shares his Alberta perspective, but other voices are now being heard. University of Calgary political science professor John Flanagan, a columnist, wife, and Calgary business consultant Ken Bockersell is a former policy adviser. Six months after the last election, many senior Calgary business leaders would denounce any Harper PMO. Nobody doubts the likes of Flanagan and Bockersell would remain powerful influences. But starting with a reorganization of his office last summer, and accelerating as he polioed together campaign teams, Harper has tapped Conservatives not closely associated with him before. Key players now include Hugh Segal, former chief of staff to Brian Mulroney and a member of the old Progressive Conservative establishment that a younger, more strident Harper once dismissed with the pet phrase that there were "only two kinds of Tories, bad Tories and better Tories."

Harper and Segal have been drifting closer for some time. Segal was in charge of the transition team that the Conservatives held on to win the last election. Would he play the same short-term role this time, a reassuring figure in the eyes of senior businessmen bound

to be worried if Harper comes to power? Or might Segal even press his role as a PM's chief of staff? "Currently Harper respects Segal and talks to him," said one Tory strategist. "Do you see him floating around? No. But does he need to be floating around to have influence? No again."

Another possibility is that Harper might back away from his current chief of staff, Ian Brodie. Like Harper, Brodie was born and raised in Toronto but studied at the University of Calgary. Unlike Harper, Brodie is credited with having cultivated intense relationships with all-school Tories, many left money by the Canadian Alliance-Progressive Conservative merger that Harper abandoned to create the new party in 2004. "Brodie was the first Harper guy to really understand the whole Conservative party," said one campaign insider.

Well-known and former new expert Harper to build a PMO with the same regional and ideological range of his current campaign team. "There's a broader perspective, different people around him," said Brad Lowe, Calgary-based consultant and former chief of staff to Alberta Premier Ralph Klein. "I had to happen—he couldn't go on with just the trust-busters." Lowe's campaign for a provincial election in 1978, branded his Liberal naivety for the 1974 campaign that won the party back a majority.

Any element in the Harper equation is the influence of Ontario Tories. Among the important figures is Guy Gossens, who was chief of staff to Mike Harris when he was Ontario's premier. Gossens is a Toronto lawyer and an influential co-author of the book *Lobbying in Canada*. Other Ontario Conservatives who have served on major business roles in Harper's ministry include Patrick Allard, a strategist mentored by Harper himself, and Doug Mackay, the Conservative campaign director.

But the bigger impact of Harris government veterans could come via Harper cabinet—thousands of prominent former Harris campaign managers to ride a Tory wave to Parliament Hill. John Brink, Jim Fishery and Tony Clement are all Harris alumni who are considered possible ministers. They bring experience—but also baggage. Senior Liberals say TV ads they ran in Ontario in the last campaign, linking Harper to Harris, was a shrewd self-promotional strategy that could lead a valuable ride to re-election to a younger other view as an uncommonly young Harper cabinet with some background in government. Among his top MPs, who would be expected to lead cabinet jobs, are several in their late 30s, including Ron Atkinson, Jason Kenney and James Ragan.

Leading candidates for posts—Mike Mackay, a good bet for deputy prime minister, and Michael Sauter, touted by many as a finance minister—are more seasoned, but have also spent their political careers on the opposition benches. On the job-making, a high risk undertaking in the federal libel, will be a challenge.

A more serious problem for Harper will arise after he starts out in Quebec. Much rest on the candidacy of Lawrence Cannon, his Quebec lieutenant, who is far from a sure thing to win a seat in an upcoming Quebec. He might have to settle for an independent candidate. He is elected, Cannon, 38, was once an aide to Quebec Liberal premier Robert Bourassa, and is considered well-versed in provincial Liberal and municipal politics codes. He is hard to enough on his own, though, to build a proven old operation around. Harper might look to Mulroney ex-minister from Quebec.

Harper would also seek to establish credibility on Quebec by bonding with Jean Charest. The Quebec premier—a provincial Liberal but a former federal Tory leader—is overshadowed these days by André Bouchette, the Friday new Parti Quebecois leader. Even though a Quebec election is likely some two years off, Martin talks in the terms of "the great battle" in which he is engaged as in a situation. Harper argues he can take the threat of Bouchette winning and calling on other stakeholders by strengthening Charest's hand. Charest welcomed Harper's offer to give Quebecers even more dialogue Canada's

More than any potential prime minister of recent memory, he nurtures an outsider's view of the national government

at UNESCO, the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and to fix the fiscal imbalance—both steps rejected by Martin.

But Harper would go further, linking what he's offering Quebec to a wider package for all provinces. He's asked the Council of the Federation, the club the premiers formed in 2003 to present a more united front in negotiations with Ottawa, for specific proposals to "develop an intergovernmental mechanism to allow the provinces greater financial input into the development of the Canadian position in international negotiations."

It's unusual for any federal leader to advocate a provincial veto in a core federal province as in *Provinces of Affairs*. While even stronger a first Harper does so while, at the same time, promising that Ottawa will back away from provincial jurisdiction. Harper may devote more time on the highways to talking up his more targeted proposals for ethics, tax relief and cracking down on crime, but his federal provincial vision has far greater long-term implications.

So what sort of government might Harper lead? Parliament's arithmetic demands one



TRICK PLAYING: There's a broader perspective, different people around him?

of broad coalitions forming and dissolving around them. His platform suggests one with a few priorities waiting up next of his attention. His multiple talking-point priorities are dominated by strategies to federal power. And Harper's personal convictions indicate one whose most likely history-making reforms could be federal provincial relations. If he wins, will a very big, the question is whether what his looks like a slick campaign can be converted into a fast-moving government. Ministers, after all, don't have the luxury of time. ■





WIRING MATTERS: The Montreal probe was a bombshell, with 90 per cent of poll respondents aware of it, and seeing voters citing it as critical

A QUESTION OF TRUST

It's still what's driving voters, and the Conservatives are locking up the issue

BY CHARLIE GILLES • It's all coming down to a question of trust—and those trust issues loom larger when it's the keys to 34 Senate seats at stake. So it was that Paul Martin and the Liberals began this election campaign playing on Canadians' deep-seated mistrust of Stephen Harper, speaking directly of the Conservative leader's supposed plans to dismantle social institutions, or succumb to his natural inclination to the highest (presumably American) bidder. And why not? It worked in June 2004, when a torrent of Grit rhetoric about Harper's "hidden agenda" earned the Tories' brief edge in the polls. By detouring the hot-button question Canada would ask themselves in the polling booth—do you trust Stephen Harper to be prime minister?—the Liberals won a majority government.

"That so-called ballot question remains the same in the current campaign. 'Leadership' is the single most important factor driving the vote," says Greg Lyle, managing director of Innovative Research Group, the firm conducting the Maclean's 34/36 panel. But if the poll's findings are any indicator, the answer for many voters has changed. When asked last week which federal leader they think would make the best prime minister, participants ranked Harper in a dead heat with Martin, at 31 and 34 per cent, respectively. "That's

a huge accomplishment for the Tories," says Lyle, noting that Harper has closed what was once a 33-point gap. "They had to rebuild Harper's image and build up the Liberals' biggest election campaign plier, the 'Grit' distrust of Harper."

But even for the Liberals, because unlike last time, Canadians have had time to think about Harper. And while the Conservative leader and his handlers can claim some credit for softening his image, the simple truth may be that voters are getting used to the idea of him in power. From howling over "Grit" class wars with grace or charisma, he appears to be slowly convincing them of his sincerity. That explains the gradual growth of his approval ratings. After a month of watching him on the stump, the proportion of respondents who view Harper favourably climbed six points, to 37 per cent, while the share who take a view of Harbottle fell to 53 per cent—numbers that roughly match Martin's. The chief issue at the campaign, Harper has pulled out of Martin on the question of which leader is the best bet for the future, and which one "stands for what I believe in."

For the Liberals, the result demonstrates the danger of recycling campaign messages eventually, the voters have you out. It also explains cynicism. Born out of voters' increasing receptivity to issues that reflect poorly on their

Liberals. The RCMP's investigation into Finance Minister Ralph Goodale's office is a good example. While such defensive Liberal announcements as the handling ban opened only a smattering of one party's situation, the Montreal probe proved a veritable bomb shell, registering among 90 per cent of participants and in many cases helping swing voters make up their minds. Among those who said last week they would abstain on their plans to abstain, Liberal support fell five and the investigation as their reason (the findings were drawn from the responses of 3,418 participants, weighted to reflect a representative cross-section of Canadian voters, with a margin of error of 1.98 percentage points, 19 times out of 20). To do, it stands as the single most defining event in the campaign.

Harper now leads Martin when voters are asked which leader 'stands for what I believe in'

All this has played into the question of trustworthiness and accountability, as voters project their corruption concerns onto Mar-

tin's persona, his character, his credibility. By last week, only 35 per cent held a favourable view of the Prime Minister, down from 50 per cent in the second week of the campaign. July 62 per cent viewed him as the most average among the leaders (31 per cent named Harper, and seven per cent said NDP leader Jack Layton). And as key issues such as Canada-U.S. relations, seem to have turned double-edged swords, the cost to respondents of Martin's recent attacks on the U.S. over software piracy and climate change is reflected in voters' concern over other standards of principle.

So why the sudden shift? Lyle, for one, believes Harper has gained ground simply by taking control of his own agenda. He strongly voted just now on last season issues like gun crime (yet again), the CRT (yet again) and day care (last season's choice) handled off any suggestion of hidden agendas early in the campaign—whatever voters thought of them. These pre-emptive strikes now appear to be paying dividends, as 50 per cent of participants say his position on those issues made their own likely vote. They, in turn, maintain, he kept Martin on the defensive by hammering on questions of Liberal corruption. "The Liberals desperately want to change the channel," says Lyle.

Harper does have some soft spots: a minority of poll participants oppose using the Constitution to override standing laws to protect a ban on gay marriage, but 63 per cent believe Harper will do just that, ranging on a promise not to. And with 30 per cent support, he ranks 14 points behind Martin on the question of who is best able to keep Quebec in Canada in the event of another referendum. Yet somewhere, what was supposed to be his leadership weakness—the old verities of U.S.-Canada relations—surprisingly, a majority of respondents believed Harper will do what's right for Canada when dealing with the U.S., not what the Americans want (National survey). Most participants felt the Liberals have misused the way for the Liberals' Harper would know it. The Liberals' strong economic record? Barely a third of those polled thought it during the government would lead to an economic upsurge.

None of it spells Harper victory—at least not yet. With two weeks to campaign, and a Liberal offensive in the offing, there is time for another shift in public opinion (and a week just three days, for the Tories led in the polls in 1994). But if trust is the key to 34 Senate seats, Stephen Harper has taken one giant step closer to the threshold.

FOR ELECTION COVERAGE

See online selections, including current Harper-Martin debate, Martin-Kopeloff and Chiu-Kopeloff, and view complete results at the Maclean's website: www.macleans.ca/election2006

MEDIA TRACKING

GETTING AN EASIER RIDE

Once the angry mate of Canadian politics, Stephen Harper is suddenly cheerful, and that's driving the press corps his direction

BY JANE BRISSEN • Stephen Harper, we're told by reporters covering the Conservative leader's current campaign tour, is a changed man. The formerly media-shy (or downright hostile) Harper smiles more. He senses to the back of the plane to debrief with reporters and patiently answers their questions. In short, he no longer seems to regard them as the enemy.

What's going on? An analysis from McGill University's newspaper coverage of the federal election that he shows a surprising trend: the former angry man of Canadian politics may have won over the media. Since the second week of the campaign, overall coverage of Harper has been substantially more positive than that of Paul Martin. What's more, after the first 40 days into the campaign, Harper has won more news than his chief rival. "Basically, Harper moved from the bottom of the pack [in the first week] to the top of the pack very quickly and has managed to stay there," says Lyle.



WINDY PROBE: Paul Martin has suffered no corruption and crime become media buzzwords

who now Martin has been found of something along at the bottom," said Robert Senk, co-director of McGill University's Observatory on Media and Public Policy, which is monitoring newspaper coverage through out the campaign.

The OMF's whose findings are being cited by Maclean's, has tracked more than 2,000 reports and opinion pieces in seven major Canadian dailies: the Globe and Mail, Toronto Star, National Post, Vancouver Sun, Calgary Herald, Le Presse and Le Devoir. It rates each article as positive, negative or neutral and then calculates the percentage of negative articles from the percentage of positive articles to arrive at the "net tone" of coverage for each leader and party.

Ordinarily, Senk's said he'd expect coverage of all the leaders to be "fairly negative," given the charged and controversial nature of the campaign. Generally, coverage of politics is negative on character. He said it's striking that Harper has consistently scored a neutral net tone score, as has five Quebecer leader Claude Charbonneau. The New Democratic Party's Jack Layton is not far behind, with a net score of -1 per cent. For Martin, on the other hand, the net tone score, the benchmark is definitely over. He has scored a cumulative net tone of -12 per cent. Similarly, the Conservative party and NDP have each scored a net score of zero, while the Bloc has done only marginally worse with a net tone of -3 per cent. The Liberals, like their chief rival, have the worst, with a net score of -14 per cent.

On the issues, too, the news is grim for Martin. As the parties entered the crucial final stretch, Senk's said he's struck that "the three most silent issues... are the issues that the Liberals are gung-ho about." In the first week of the new year, the OMF found that our nation's government accountability and ethics issues to the top of the list of issues covered, driven by the recently launched official investigation into possible insider trading involving Finance Minister Ralph Goodale. On coverage of that investigation, the Liberals scored a net tone of -25 per cent, compared with a -14 per cent for the Conservatives, -1.1 per cent for the NDP and a 4 per cent for the Bloc. On coverage of the income tax and spending scandals specifically, the Conservatives scored a net score of -15 per cent, with the Liberals trailing at -16 per cent.

Crime was the second most frequently covered issue, fuelled by the fatal Boxing Day shooting of a teenager in downtown Toronto. On this, the Liberals earned a net tone of 25.4 per cent, the Conservatives 1.8 per cent and the NDP zero. And on social programs, the Liberals led a net tone of -17.4 per cent, the Conservatives five per cent and the NDP -1.4 per cent. The Bloc was not included in enough articles on either crime or social programs on which to have a net score.

The Conservatives also enjoyed significantly more positive coverage on the economy, health care, national unity and tax issues. On same-sex marriage, did the Liberals (-7.9 per cent) do better than the Tories (-1.2 per cent).

ON THE WEB: For more details on the OMF's media tracking report, visit www.macleans.ca/election2006

Promises, promises

Martin says his promises beat Harper's. Problem is no one believes any politician will actually deliver.



DUANE WELLS

The sixth week of the federal election campaign was the one the Liberal team most had selected, so long ago, as the week the "real" campaign would begin. Private souls like you and me might have thought the campaign would begin on, say, the day the campaign began. But Martin takes care to surround himself with more imaginative souls.

Accordingly, the Liberal leader's sixth week began in poetry. It ended in a train wreck, complete with the screams of the wounded. But I don't want to go ahead of myself.

"With three weeks to go until election day, I think it's fair to say it is only now that most Canadians will be giving this campaign their full attention," Martin told a Winnipeg bus tour crowd over breakfast. He launched into a tale of mystery about the nature of Canada and the differences—careless, he said—between himself and Stephen Harper. "Unusual but discuss," a senior Martin adviser had told reporters on the early morning flight to Winnipeg from Ottawa, and in many ways it actually was a ball of good guesses, except that what the French journalist meant was:

In part Martin's Winnipeg speech was a sort of rhetoric seminar. The topic of the day was political construction.

What are Canadians doing? "They are looking at the parties—and the leaders," Martin said. "They are looking to see for someone to say something."

The Liberal leader said Stephen Harper's goal is to "lead for yourself Canada." Martin, on the other hand, believes in more dignified sentence structures. He believes "this social policy—the things we do to help each other out and help each other up—is a window on the kind of country we are. And the kind of country we want to be."

What kind of country? "We are stronger together than we are alone," Martin said instead, "we would be stronger if we pulled together rather than if we pulled apart."

So you should vote Liberal, because "we will deliver what no other party can—because

we believe what no other party does." There is so much potential in this routine. "Together we will build that potential. Together we will achieve that promise."

We need some of this so we will do some of that. You know it's good. I am sure you know you would. A passing Githhows lion of silence hopes you'll like the sound of a Borneo Street.

Near the end, as what we would call the "short theme" of Martin's speech was a Neil Herli arrangement for the Coast Broadcast, the Liberal leader abandoned the grandiose assertions to business before his central point.

"One Canada. Not two. Not several. One national government to unite us as Canadians. One national government to speak for us as Canadians. One prime minister to represent us as Canadians. Not two. Not several."

So the speech was about the nature of the differences—"profound," he said several times, and "deep" and "fundamental"—between Martin and his opponent. The strategy was simple. Indeed its simplicity was part of its charm. Here was the strategy: (a) say there were deep differences; (b) make promises that demonstrated the deep differences.

How could it go wrong?

Here's how. Martin's promises could be doubly miserable. Harper's that the differences wouldn't look particularly deep. Martin's promises might look like in diversity advance press reports, outlining the desired impression of a government in command. Martin's promises might turn out to be all political promises repackaged.

Which is indeed what happened. As a kind of bonus, the RCMP started looking into un-

CONCENTRATED PEOPLE: Martin and his wife, Stella, at the I.C. Cancer Research Centre



MARTIN'S SIXTH WEEK began at poetry and ended as a train wreck.

coated aspect of the Liberal administration (the 1995 "Optimism Canada" expenditures for Heritage Canada). And Martin attempted a secret apology, live on Vancouver radio, to British Columbia's Chinese community for the long-ago imposition of racist head taxes. This levelled alone in long is secret normally do when you share them with hundreds of thousands of people, and it served only to make the phantoms of repression twirling with the big guy cross a river. Which, given the general mood on the place, was quite a feat.

But I want to get back to the nature of the political promise in modern Canadian politics. Because these days are a lot of them. In the Winnipeg speech, Martin renewed all Harper's promises with some flourish. "Mr. Harper has made a genuine day after day that campaign began," he said. "Five promises, then six, now more than 20. And more to come." But not entirely sure Martin would be paid

PHOTO BY PHILIP HALL/GETTY

along a steering strategy if he simply made free of Harper for doing all this promising. Politics was, after all, as in bad about these days. Over Christmas, my dad said he was in clouds for the first time in his life when he made the most promise, because my dad had been Dalton McGuinty's Ontario, where a promise to hold the line on costs turned into big tax increases. The editorial is that night's James O'Brien made exactly the same point.

Martin has decided to follow a different path. He is now matching Harper word for word. On Tuesday night, the Liberal arrived in Victoria, made a headline for the station microphone and announced the Liberals will eliminate the 1979 "landing fee" now Canadian immigrants have been charged since 1996. We checked our watches. It was late-ish, 6:30 p.m. in Victoria, very close to anyone's final deadline in Toronto. Why the

editorial didn't pick any announcement? The answer became clear the next morning, when Harper announced he would cut the landing fee to \$100. The Liberals must have caught wind of the Conservative announcement and decided to get out ahead of Harper. It was a partial win at best, but smartly played at least. And that was the end of the Liberals' good luck for the week.

Wednesday morning, Martin was at a gleaming laboratory and teaching facility at the University of Victoria, while his business guests pulled on the few dropped laws outside. He had come to announce a "Canada Health Care Guarantee," which was a set of promises to ensure that patients would receive care when they need it. Hence problems. The Canadian Press had caught wind of his announcement the night before, stampeding a "Parade Charter" Martin's policy, as the place was in Ottawa,

some grants cross wanting that the story had unspecified problems and that we certainly shouldn't expect the plan would be called a "charter." For enough. We earned a boring pool. Would be a "policy initiative"? Would it be a "vow"? A "pledge"? A "plan"?

In the end was a guarantee, complete with a \$75 million Health Care Guarantee Fund to fly patients from wherever care might be found to places where it might. Less minor problems: Harper had promised something very similar the first week of the campaign. Incidentally, Harper's proposal was called the Patient Wait Times Guarantee.

Martin really didn't like our suggestions that there was not a fundamental difference. "There's a fundamental difference," he insisted. "Mr. Harper made a promise. A promise to me. There's no plan. We have something we're working on for quite a while. We have a plan. It's a plan that says, 'Here's how we will finish these last major commitments, but here's also how we'll build the capacity close to you to ensure centres of excellence that can finish the necessary services'."

He really should stop talking about every child when he plans only to provide daycare to some

"That's completely different from Mr. Harper's promise, which is only a promise to some. I want to do something," but he has no plan to fill it out."

So a Conservative promise is only a promise, whereas a Liberal promise is a plan. The meaning of other less-than-promises was missed by the guy from the Toronto Star, who asked: Didn't Martin promise—or vow, or plan, or guarantee, or pledge—to "find health care for everyone" back in the 2004 election campaign? The final headline there, why was becoming a reality, was, not to fill it out.

Martin replied, in effect, that nobody could be so careless as to promise to fill health care for a generation. "I don't tell ourselves that in the globalized world in which we live, there are going to be ongoing health care developments," he said. "So I fully expect that we will be coming back here in subsequent years and we'll be saying, look, we've solved this problem, we've come this far, but now we want to go further."

It's one of the things Martin does most reliably. He makes absolutely over-the-top claims for his plans (vow, commitment) and then, when he actually makes real progress on it, he, he says you don't notice that it doesn't take to the level of what he originally vowed (pledge, plan) to do. If he was this eloquent, still a very strong possibility, he's already set

A growing body of evidence suggests that today's 18-year-olds are too immature to vote. We should be talking about raising the voting age, not lowering it.

BY MICHAEL MOORE AND COLIN CAMPBELL

In the spring of 2004, a million Canadians received a letter in the mail reminding them to vote in the upcoming general election. At 18, had turned 18 since 1999, when Jean Chrétien won his third consecutive majority, and all had earned the right to cast a ballot, few did. Despite the mass mailed reminders by Canada's chief electoral officer, Jean-Pierre Kéroux, just 58.7 percent of Canadians between the ages of 18 and 21 voted, adding to what Kéroux called a "dismal" trend among young people. "The decline in turnout at federal elections since 1988 is largely confined to those Canadians born after 1970," he said in a speech.

Young people don't vote, a problem that's now discussed so much that our eyes can be frozen for glancing over—like a teenager's in a trivia class—whatever it's raised. In Canada, the U.S., the U.K. and elsewhere, there are high-profile campaigns to try and lower the voting age to 16 as the hope it will encourage young people to take part in the democratic process.

But there's a growing body of evidence to suggest that's a wrong-headed approach. Sci-

tional adulthood of duty and self-sufficiency is becoming more and more a thing of the past. Justin Clark, a sociologist at the University of Western Ontario, explains. In 1979, adolescents ended sharply after the age of 19 even when parents would into one's job or job.

During childhood of the 1950s and 1960s, 18-year-olds have more in common with children than with the 10-year-olds with whom they share the vote. In the U.S., "18-year-olds are pretty incompetent," and Michael Parenti, a writer of *Hard America*, *Soft America*. "You watch them at McDonald's and they don't know what to do. But American 30-year-olds are the most competent 30-year-olds in the world." In his book, Parenti argues that young people under the age of 18 now live in what he calls "soft America," where they remain sheltered from the rigors of competition and accountability. After 18, at university, community colleges or in the private sector, they move into "hard America" and "develop the abilities of judgment, competence and creativity far above what most people at 18 thought they were capable of."

That shift in the social fabric—moving

from so-called "pre-adolescence"—not fully mature until age 25. Robert Gurr, a professor of psychology and director of the Brain Behavior Laboratory at the University of Pennsylvania, has found that the parts of the brain most important to critical thinking are the latest-developing. Neurological science, Gurr has said, argues for raising the age of legal majority to 22 or 23. Not surprisingly, much of this research has been used to advance arguments to lower U.S. states that the age of sexual consent, as well as the legal age for smoking, drinking and driving a car should be raised. In Ontario and Michigan, efforts are being made to bring the age of mandatory school attendance up to 18.

Partly with halfhearted benevolence, North America's first learned to coddle its youth and you get a group of voters who are/turning up to school on a ballot. Since dropping the voting age in 1970, Canada has watched its turnout rise sharply. The move 15 years ago came amid a flurry of similar changes around the world: even Italy by the politically active baby boom generation. "At the time, Trudeau argued that this was to arrange the integration of young people and the space of young action," and Dennis Pilon, a Trent University political scientist. "He felt this was a move that would incorporate young people into the political system at a time they were challenging it and raising questions." Then-U.S. President Richard Nixon was a leading supporter of the change south of the border and pushed about the benefits of its sending the franchise to 11 million new voters—many of them barely out of high school. "You will infuse into this nation some idealism, some courage, some activism, some high moral purpose," Nixon said.

How wrong they were. Though voter turnout rose among Canadians of all ages had been in slow but steady decline for decades, they dropped sharply after 1988—the same year above born in 1970 reached 18 and raised the voting age from 21 to 18 a year after Canada had the passage of the 16th Amendment, but witnessed a similar trend. Indeed, lowering the voting age didn't have the effect many expected—or hoped for. Young people today have consistently turned out. According to one Thomson Canada survey of Canadian youths immediately after the 2000 federal election, out in the could not name Jan Chretien as leader of the Liberal Party and had confused identity that the Prime Minister. Joe Clark as leader of the Progressive Conservative.

Notwithstanding Nixon's promise that 18-year-olds would deliver wisdom, courage and activism, North Americans have since cynicism and apathy. They're young have never shown an election in Canada or the U.S., nor have political parties found it profitable to court them, preferring older voters who are more

STOP HIM BEFORE HE VOTES

entific, sociological and demographic evidence indicates that young people are, in essence, inexperienced and too sheltered from functioning society to be entrusted with the vote. What if the move to lower the age from 21 to 18 was in the first place and ought to be reversed?

The idea of raising the age of suffrage isn't that far-fetched. It was only in 1970, after all, that the federal government had opened it to good age to start kids voting. But kids today aren't what they were. In 1970—as at the middle of the 19th century in their younger parents, once again to be. Many today still live at home, more reliant on school leavers, and more wily-wily from job to job leavers surfing on a career. In 1970, 22 per cent of Canadians between 17 and 19 held full-time jobs, compared with just 13 per cent in 2001, according to Statistics Canada. "The quali-

ties security blanket of childhood into the mid-20s and beyond—is mirrored by new scientific research into the brain's development. Michael Parenti's new book reveals how young people are underdeveloped, particularly in areas dealing with judgement and impulse control. For example, Deborah Yarkoni-Todd, a research scientist at Harvard Medical School, has found young people often have difficulty in keeping emotions out from the world around them. "Just because teens are physically mature, they may not appreciate the consequences or weigh them before the same way as adults do," she told reporters in 2004. "Good judgement is learned, but you can't learn it if you don't have the necessary hardware."

Reinforcing that opinion is a recent study by the U.S. National Institutes of Health, which found that brain functions controlling judgement and risk assessment—the human

ILLUSTRATION BY MICHAEL



▲ LEFT: BACHELET, CHILE'S Michelle Bachelet, center: her first daughter, and Venezuela's Hugo Chávez with President Lula, from Brazil

A CONTINENTAL SHIFT TO THE LEFT

Latin America is looking leftward, and this year's 12 elections could reshape the region. The hope is salvation from poverty. The fear: another Venezuela

BY ISABEL VINCENTY • With his imagination as Bolivia's new president and a week away, Evo Morales has already embarked on a series of international country calls that offer more than a token imperialist. Andean country's course for the near future. His first stop was Cuba, where Fidel Castro welcomed him as "a brother." Last week, he was in Venezuela, where he met with his friend Hugo Chávez, before heading off for meetings with Bolivia's neighbor presidents, Luis Inácio da Silva, or Lula. Then it's off to China.

Once he's in office, Morales, a former llama herder and trumpet player who rose to prominence as the leader of a coca growers co-operative, has promised to nationalize key industries and rewrite the constitution in an order to redistribute land to the poor. He also wants to legalize the growing of opium, which for thousands of years has been cultivated in the region for medicinal and religious purposes. Given also the new international cocaine,

and the plan to legalize its cultivation will likely be condemned by the United States, which has been fighting a costly and losing battle against the drug for decades.

If there was any doubt about how Morales feels about U.S. President George Bush, it was dispelled in one of the first interviews he gave after winning a majority last month. "The only terrorist in the world that I know of is George Bush," Morales said in a spot on television in which he denounced the U.S. President of waging a dirty campaign against his Latin American Bolivia. "His incarnation is truth when I call him sponsored terrorism."

Morales is only the latest in a series of left-leaning leaders who are promising to steer Latin America further to the left this year. After decades of military rule in the 1960s, followed by neo-liberal economic experiments in the late 1980s that turned sour in many countries, Latin Americans seem to be looking in a different direction. According to the

2005 UN development report, Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa are the worst regions in the world for economic inequality. Out of a population of 700 million, 200 million live on less than \$1 a day, while some seem to be looking for education. A majority of Latin Americans want their leaders to combat growing violence and unemployment.

New there are 12 presidential elections scheduled for 2006 in Latin America, with analysts predicting a further swing to the left in many of the most important countries. "It appears the map is changing," said Cuba's Fidel Castro, in a speech during Morales' visit to the communist island at the end of December.

In Chile, last week, Michelle Bachelet, a self-described "socialist" and "progressive" and a single mother of three who likely became the first female president in the country's history. Bachelet, 54, is the candidate for the center-left governing coalition, Concertación, which has ruled Chile since the country's return to democracy in 1990. Unlike Morales in Bolivia or Chávez in Venezuela, she promises no radical changes. However, she says she wants to address the growing gap between rich and poor in Chile, a country that has seen significant economic growth since the late 1980s and is often referred to as the

Latin American "miracle" economy. Last year, the Chilean economy expanded by more than five per cent. "We should continue growing economically, that is very important," Bachelet said in a campaign speech last month. "But we have to make sure that everybody in this country will have the benefits of this growth." "We have to address inequality," says Alejandro Follis, a secretary from the Christian Democratic party who is an adviser on Bachelet's presidential campaign.

Five days ago, Bachelet's political confidante, Aguirre, and a former health and defense minister, she worked under for the Socialist Party after the 1993 coup that led by General Augusto Pinochet first toppled Marxist leader Salvador Allende. He is Chile's, a general in the air force who opposed the coup, was tortured and killed. Bachelet was also imprisoned and tortured, along with her mother, Angélica. She was allowed to flee the country in 1975.

"She doesn't want to let her torturers or assassins take the name of her father," said the bestselling Chilean novelist Isabel Allende, who lives in Santiago for the first time in her life. "She is thinking about the future of the young people, but she will never forget the pain because she lived too closely"

in Brazil, Lula is following in that direction of a pragmatic, market-oriented left. He is expected to win re-election in October if he runs—even though a growing corruption scandal in his Workers' Party has weakened much of his support base in congress and will likely force him to form a coalition government. Corruption has plagued previous Brazilian administrations but was supposed to have been absent in a utopian left-leaning government, Lula won in part on promises to run a clean government.

Lula has also come under fire from critics for the funds he keeps on the world stage. "In several policies, this government has made a series of huge mistakes," says Bolívar Larrazabal, a Brazilian political scientist, "especially with respect to its relationships with Venezuela and Cuba." Still, he remains the top pick of his public, and democracy remains strong in Brazil, as in the rest of the region. "People are busy criticizing the government, and that's good in a democracy," said Luis Moreno. "That's the kind of debate you want."

But politics are complex in this part of the world, and the effects of a leftward political shift are by no means predictable or uniform. Venezuela is a case in point. When Chávez took power in Venezuela in 1999, he promised to eliminate inequality and improve living conditions for the poor. While he has done much to address the country's social problems, his administration is plagued with corruption, and Chávez has threatened to be a popular of a dangerous veto. Venezuela seems to be emerging as a humane republic for the 21st century—albeit one with a great deal of influence.

Thanks to his oil reserves, which yield annual revenues of more than \$30 billion, Chávez holds a great deal of power in the region. He has offered to pay the external debts of Ecuador and Argentina, and to sell ships off to Nicaragua and Cuba, and to nationalize some impoverished neighboring countries in Brazil and New York City. It was Chavez who financed Morales' first failed bid at the presidency in Bolivia, in 2002. In Brazil, the Venezuelan government is constructing a \$3.5 billion refinery in the impoverished northeastern state of Pernambuco.

As he has the overwhelming favor of the year, thanks to control his government has placed on the opposition and the press—as well as the voting public. In parliamentary elections held last year, 75 per cent of voters refused to participate, largely because

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: ANDRÉS BARRERA/REUTERS; JAMES HAMILTON/REUTERS; JAMES HAMILTON/REUTERS



OLD-STYLE POPULISM: Venezuela's President Chavez addresses the People's Summit and then leads rally in Caracas last fall

of fear of political persecution if they didn't vote for Chavez. Computer technology seems to be turning the country into an Orwellian state: the government knows how citizens vote, and punishes dissenters. Public-sector employees who support the opposition have found it difficult to keep their jobs or apply for promotions. And private enterprises employing opposition supporters find themselves shut down for days at a time for routine audits or as a disadvantage when bidding for government contracts. A few weeks before the elections in December, scandal hit when a CD was linked to porn-lust-containing data on some 12 million voters, including how they had voted in previous elections.

"Chavez is viewed as a bit of an eccentric character in Latin America, and he has the image to contrast his wild and eccentric work in denigrating the market economy, the middle class, free speech and a free and independent judiciary," noted a recent editorial in *Vista*. *Boat's* most important editorial recommendation:

For his part, Chavez remains unrepentant. A radical-style populist, it is notable, he has used the country's oil wealth to pour millions into schools. And Venezuelans are the most racist parts of the country and in urban areas now have racist physicians, most of them Cubans on loan to the Ministry from Castro. But some of his solutions come with problems of their own, such as the draconian requirement to be

up for the poor. The stores, known as Mercal, offer products for 40 per cent less than most other stores. The trouble is, they are forcing small grocery stores out of business. One merchant in Caracas said nearly 10 per cent of small grocery stores in the city had shut down.

'The only terrorist in the world that I know of is George Bush,' Morales said in a recent interview

Meanwhile, Chavez continues to cement his political base. His face is emblazoned on T-shirts that sell alongside Che Guevara T-shirts. He has set up a reference station, *TeleSur*, which was launched as a regional alternative to CNN and the BBC but that he also uses to promote his anti-American views. It distributes that message via several

hours. In November, while he was on an official visit to the northeast of Brazil, Chavez blamed the United States for trying to assassinate his country. "We are accustomed to opposition attacks in Venezuela," said Chavez at a press conference. "Everyone knows that the United States has started to finance the opposition."

Indeed, the United States makes no secret that it supports labour unions and political parties opposed to Chavez in Venezuela. And President Bush has been trying to enlist the help of other Latin American governments to keep Chavez in his place. But with an increasing number of governments turning left, the policy appears to be failing. "We are committed to attacking neo-liberalism and working for the poor," said Morales and Chavez in a joint press statement during Morales' recent visit to Caracas. "This is a new internationalism—the internationalism for the people." Most leaders in the new Latin America would find it hard to go against that statement. ■



SPACE: BOOZE CRUISES HIT NEW HEIGHTS

Feed with the problem of third-class alcohol, Russian authorities are weighing introduction of alcohol at the International Space Station. A source at the Russian naval base for manned space programs said it's believed alcohol helped boost astronaut morale strongly. Alcohol was introduced in the Soviet form of New-York-filled chocolate at Chertomk. However, Russia's NASA partners are less-revered alcohol is provided and want a total ban.

'First and foremost a Jew'

Ariel Sharon's generation fought every war Israel faced



BENJAMIN NETANYAHU

Ariel Sharon is unlikely ever to make up his mind. His wife is not unknown model where she had Segmented but, coolly speaking, no third Jew will part for him. His pupils respond to fight, the biggest Indians say, but can be mind control?

Sharon's prime has been devoted to the establishment and preservation of the Jewish state of Israel. The Palestinian-born son of Mr. and Mrs. Shimon ben David and Ben Shimon, he grew up with a new world in a new world. His generation fought every war Israel faced, beginning with the 1948 war of independence.

Like a son depended on a desert island, these new Israeli soldiers were born from scratch. There was no time for a school of political science in the barracks, with police demands of "it's not my department." An Israeli politician might as well, soldier, intelligence agent and, if necessary, a plumber all in one. If he wasn't usually a plumber, Sharon was then near everything else. As a military man, he got his baptism in the 1967 Six Day War and eventually rose to major general. He worked for the Labor government and helped found the Likud party. His politics could be left or right in circumstances required.

Everything about Sharon seemed a contradiction. He was a smart, busy man, once memorably described as "a man with a light touch," but he moved with brutal-like agility. He commanded that battling Israeli who could speak of God and say, as he did, "I am first and foremost a Jew," while remaining completely secular with little or no interest in the Jewish religion. He had the confidence of an Israeli who, unlike a Jew in the Diaspora, has been so firmly connected to his own nation.

He gave little thought to how Israel was seen in London or at the UN. The BBC was boycotted by his government for five months in 1995 for its station's anti-Israel reporting. But in different as he was to opponents, Sharon did care about his reputation in the civilized world, particularly America. When Time or another film of something he almost certainly did not do, Sharon said. The accusation was that he had (for no conceivable military purpose) desecrated the coffins of men, women and children in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in Lebanon because it took place—an evil act, not only evil in itself but one that could only hurt Israel.

The New York party found the article to be false and defamatory but without evidence.

The general, known for his staunch support of the Labor government and the concept of a Greater Israel, gave way to another quality when he became prime minister: fierce criticism of Israel came from the same people who are the most zealous in defending it to look for pacific solutions when they reach a position of power. Golda Meir, Benjamin Netanyahu and Menachem Begin did not come

up to an aggressive policy of targeted assassinations to eliminate terrorists. These men pushed through opposition on just one issue, in Europe particularly. But the policies were overwhelmingly successful. Suicide bombings were drastically reduced and dedicated terrorist leaders killed.

Just as he was going from opposing a Palestinian state to being the first Israeli prime minister to advocate one, Sharon, who has been the symbol of the Israeli struggles of expansion, occupation and resistance, searched soldiers to demolish Jewish homes in the Gaza. When members of Likud objected to the withdrawal, he left the party last November to found a new political party, Kadima.

Clearly, he intended it as a personal vehicle



THE MILITARY MAN: Sharon near the Suez Canal during the Six Day War, October 1967

Five years ago, before the Gaza withdrawal, no one would have shown up at his funeral

From careers in the armed forces but their politics were hardly it. It was left to generals Rabin, Barak and Sharon to become the doves.

Perhaps military men exposed to battlefield horrors undergo a sort of conversion therapy. Perhaps they become violently aware of themselves as geography and geography—a handful of Jews attempting to bring on a life of others surrounded not only by other peoples but by expanding hostile populations. Whatever the reason, they are directing the weapons and reducing the country's defensive perimeter as the best strategy for preserving the Jewish state.

Sharon modified this approach: his weapons and reduced perimeter were reinforced by a security wall, his peaceful overtures backed

by his foremost policy aim: to create defensible borders for Israel—ending the Gaza withdrawal. If a strong and credible Palestinian leader had turned up—he never met one—other reasons given to a Palestinian could have been negotiated. Now Kadima's chance for survival depended those of any opposition on a well-kept baby.

The Gaza withdrawal turned world opinion. The demand of Sharon became the impossible face of Israel, though he knew this as a negotiable phenomenon. Those who hate Israel, he once said, may like you for a bit, but they will hate you again.

Sharon had just begun to implement his policies and so taking the measure of his legacy will depend on whether they are successfully explored. One could say that he managed to accomplish just enough to give the world would be simply regretted at his funeral. Five years ago, no one would have shown up. Tempers neither but only God knows for how long. ■



Canada's dairy industry has fought tooth and nail against agricultural free trade, and it's costing Canadians plenty

Beck's case is particularly concerning, since Canada is strenuously defending supply management in the current Doha round of multilateral trade negotiations. At a ministerial meeting in Hong Kong earlier this month, the 149 members of the World Trade Organization failed to agree on a formula for reducing barriers to agricultural trade. With a new deadline for an agreement set for April

It's a sweet deal that farmers are naturally wont to protect. When the U.S. and New Zealand successfully challenged Canada at the WTO in 2002, growing high milk prices were barely used to subsidize cheese that

Export with sluggish market and an inability to export, processors like Noranda, Pulpamex and Saputo have been closing their Canadian operations. Montreal-based Saputo, the world's No. 2 mozzarella producer with operations in the U.S. and Australia, in November said

That's why the government needs to find an exit strategy, say industry observers, before the WTO seal the fates of globalization under the decision for Canada. "Supply management is finished. Anybody who says it's going to be here in 20 years is whistling at the graveyard," says Melnyk. "It's time for the government to show some leadership. Unfortunately, I don't think they're going to let go until the Titanic is literally under water." ■



[†] See 4. It is assumed that the use of Benicoflex Depot is associated with the use of Benicoflex Depot or, if not, Benicoflex Depot is used as a treatment of Benicoflex Depot.

CLASS REVOLUTION

Desperate to turn their floundering public schools around, educators in California discovered the perfect model for reform in an unexpected place—Edmonton

BY KEN MACQUEEN AND PAUL WELLS • The troubled public school system in Oakland, Calif., operating under a state-imposed administrator and graduating just 74 percent of its students—missed a bonus last November. US\$34 million in donations from a Los Angeles-based America, including the charitable foundations of computing pioneers Michael and Susan Dell and Bill and Melinda Gates. Curiously, the beleaguered administration owes much of this largesse to an unlikely source: the Edmonton Public Schools system—a darling of American educational reformers and a model for Oakland's dramatic and controversial initiatives.

Across the bay from Oakland, the five-tiered Unified School District isn't as fortunate. The Gates foundation—donors of almost US\$1 billion to schools across the U.S. to foster a more responsive, results-based education system—has held off all new grants in the district. It's a move that many educators in the city believe is a response to the board's failure to embrace the kind of sweeping school reforms that Edmonton began 30 years ago under Mike Breemidson, who worked his way from teacher to principal to superintendent, while also running a large Alberta hog farm.

For 21 years, Breemidson—part educational visionary, part pragmatic farmer—de-manded public schools run on the tenets of business principles and bottom-line accountability. One step was to corporate board members: school boards. His successors, including Angus McIsaac, who retired as superintendent of schools last fall, have expanded that corporatist vision. Principals in the Alberta capital receive no salary and no budgetary control, as well as the right to draw students from anywhere in the district. Once system-wide expenses for things like transportation and debt service are removed, Edmonton's central board controls just eight percent of revenue. The rest—92 percent—is spent by principals, based on priorities set by staff at each school. "You don't have to get any anybody's permission down here to do

stuff, you know what your level of authority is, and that's quite a load off your back," said McIsaac, during one of his final days at the Centre for Education, the board's former headquarters building. "In the old days in Canada, in more distant—the principals have to be on their knees begging somebody for something. In exchange, principals have the responsibility to deliver the goods, as both managers and instructional leaders. That means doing what it takes to assist students, to keep them, and to graduate them at higher levels of academic achievement."

"We were amazed at the efficiency, the customer service element, and the efficiency of resources usage we saw in Edmonton," says Patrick Ben-Gal, senior executive officer for financial services at the Oakland Unified School District. Three delegations of administrators, principals, teachers and parents trickled to Alberta before adopting a modified version of school-based accountability. Oakland calls it Results Based Funding. Other U.S. cities, including Seattle and Houston, have adopted some of Edmonton's reforms, though not with the scope or urgency of Oakland, which lives off a US\$100-million line of credit from the state government. "We're constantly grateful that Edmonton exists because we didn't



STUDENTS ASIDE: Public schools in Oakland are being broken up into smaller units in an effort to keep them afloat.

Other U.S. cities, such as Seattle and Houston, have adopted the idea of letting parents comparison shop

nothing less than the right to comparison shop. Even with Edmonton's final waters, almost half of all students attend schools outside their neighborhood catchment. That compares with about 20 percent in a national survey published this November by the National, B.C.-based Society for the Advancement of Excellence in Education. That survey found that 69 percent of parents and 77 percent of teachers want the right to select schools—no demand, it seems, nor Canadian boards aren't meeting.

In Edmonton, families pick from a widening array of producer schools specializing in arts, sports, science, advanced academics, Aboriginal culture. There are traditional schools, an all-girls school, bilingual schools from Arabic to Ukrainian to Ukrainian. There are Christian schools, including those that give up private status to join the public system. Edmonton Public has more than 1,000 students and sees itself in competition with private institutions, as well as the smaller but highly innovative Catholic boards. It wants as you move into the future, your school has lost all in a moment."

Yet others see it as a solution of an ever-expanding and, as Microsoft founder Gates puts it, "obsolete" public education system. In Edmonton, for all its reputation as Alberta's bastion of anti-corruption liberalism, the city isn't much happier about the experience. Some board members and district leaders have evolved to the point where parents report

nothing less than the right to comparison shop. Even with Edmonton's final waters, almost half of all students attend schools outside their neighborhood catchment. That compares with about 20 percent in a national survey published this November by the National, B.C.-based Society for the Advancement of Excellence in Education. That survey found that 69 percent of parents and 77 percent of teachers want the right to select schools—no demand, it seems, nor Canadian boards aren't meeting.

Keeping kids in class, and parents from fleeing the public system, is one of the Oakland district's great challenges. That contributed to its financial meltdown, and the state's decision in 2003 to let the board and

install its own administrator, Randall A. Ward, as a compromising reformer with a sweeping mandate for change. "Transplanting an Edmonton hybrid into Oakland's story isn't as easy. Debt, declining enrollment and bitter opposition from the teachers' union are part of the problem. So, too, is Oakland's profound socio-economic divide, between the wealthy, predominantly white schools on the hills, and those, such as Fremont High, in the poor, largely black and Hispanic flatlands."

"Especially bloody," says Oakland principal Don Hase, "Fremont High School has been a failure for decades." He should know. In the '60s, there used to be a track at Fremont, a great old school built in 1907. By 2005, it was a crumbling mess with a gawled playground in the entrance and dozens of portable classrooms sprawling across the school grounds. Dropouts were rampant, the school was plagued by graffiti, and an education there seemed like anything except a ticket out. "Each year, the CST—California Standard Test—scores would come out and we'd score a one on a scale of one to 10," with 10 being the schools with the best results, Hase says. The worst performing schools were also rated in a subgroup. "And again we'd score a one," says Hase. "So we just failed at failure."



STUDENT BUILT BY AN Edmonton gym class, Oakland, Calif., school at lunch hour.



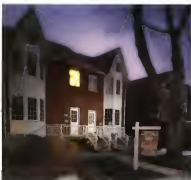
PHOTO BY PAUL KOTLIK. TOP LEFT: PHOTOS BY PAUL KOTLIK.

CRIME their own share in return for a quick payoff. "The buyer usually knows something is illegal but is led to believe it's just a legal loophole," says Const. Terry Schmidt of the RCMP's Commercial Crime Section in northern Alberta. "So he gets mortgage papers, collects a small cheque, and walks away believing his part in the deal is over, except he's the one the banks will come after once the mortgage is defaulted on."

While some straw buyers are naive, others are on the make and will buy the promissory note and tell the same property owner twice to inflate its value. Edmonson police recently charged six people with a mortgage fraud scheme involving 350 homes and 14 counties involving \$75 million. "Water agencies are producing misleading claims of the city that they artificially skewed the price of property in Edmonson," says Dan Mills, sheriff.

It's also the third consecutive major breakthrough for insurance companies. In 2008, mortgage fraud accounted for 35 per cent of the claims we paid, whereas in 2009, it would have been closer to 15 per cent," says Susan Leslie, vice-president of claims paid underwriting for First Canadian Title. "It's our largest claims category." Steven Olson, vice-president of business development at Chicago Title Insurance Company Canada, concurs. "The instances of property fraud continue to grow. We are increasingly receiving claims that are mortgage-fraud related."

A hot real estate market provides fertile ground and the depersonalized process of buying a house has made such schemes even easier to pull off. In a recent report to its members, the Law Society of Upper Canada



owner, and the guy living in the house is used with the rest."

The homeowners had good reason to worry since the real-estateers generally get away with a lot. In Edmonston, Det. Shuster was forced to finally lay some charges in the \$30 million fraud case. "These were the first criminal charges we've had in relation to mortgage fraud," says Det. Shuster. Prior to this case, Edmonston police counted more

presented the police with the firefighter's cell phone number, but instead of going after him, the police interrogated my brother and then the mortgage company sued us. The banks walk away saying "Dude, while the homeowner sits around."

One practitioner spurned fraud in this insurance, which can be purchased for about \$250. The one fine for grants fall comes to sitting at your own house. Even if you don't expect life insurance to solve all your problems, Simons had life insurance and was still charged with an \$11,000 legal bill. "We were screwed from the beginning," says Simons. "We contacted our mortgage company and they basically told us to—uh—take it to the government and we were told to hire a lawyer. Then we were served with papers from both mortgage companies. My mother was sued, it was sued, and the mortgage company was sued. The guy whose identity was stolen by the fraudster—sue him. All the innocent parties."

And the Canadian who committed the fraud? "The police never identified him," says Stevens. ■

gating mortgage fraud out of frustration. "Lenders won't co-operate. Witnesses won't speak. The banks don't want to talk about it and the Crown isn't interested in prosecuting because the cases are too complex."

Most incidents of snareage find ranch and courts, and almost always, the innocent victim—or the naive straw buyer—is left to find off the ravenshoe banks. "The banks go wrought to the collateral," says Demco. "We discovered the fraud within two weeks."

The criminals are sophisticated, and often victims aren't even aware they've been scammed until it's too late

faulted due either to scribbles by the electronic land registry system, the increasing competitiveness of money lenders, and the unyielding pressure placed by clients on lawyers to close deals without due diligence. The Society is currently investigating fraud allegations against 73 lawyers with an average of 74 previous complaints against each one.

Unfortunately, vigilance alone won't fix the problem. The criminals are sophisticated, and often the victims aren't even aware they've been scammed until the proper stores are long gone and money is impossible to track. "These people manufacture false passports, certified checks, bank statements," says Jack Zaecher, a lawyer in Manhattan. One "I had a homebody come to my office to close a deal. Everything looked real but it was all phony. We discovered the fraud after the bank manager said a welcome letter to the home-



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Thomson, Roy

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COLLAR OF THE WEEK

A MAKE-YOURSELF-AT-HOME INVITATION

James Fowler not only broke into a South Carolina home last week with apparent intent to burglar, but once inside, he decided to try out a pair of cocktail waiters and make fresh ginger paleo. A suspicious neighbor watching the home called police, who noticed him curled up on the back deck. When they came around to the back of the property, Fowler tried to make his escape—by going back into the house.

VIDEOGAME WIDOWS

Men who love online games, and the women who hate them

BY GWYNETH HUGHES—Krisnan's husband, Allen, began his love affair with *World of Warcraft* one afternoon about a year ago, when he opened a demo CD for the game and decided to play it (non-stop). Krisnan, who is 33, is somewhat vicariously getting bored. Today, the 32-year-old gets home from his IT job at 6, makes dinner and plays the online fantasy game until midnight. Then he does every evening, except for weekends—when he plays from 9 a.m. until 2 p.m. "The last time we had sex was when the server went down. He used to take and play football, now he does soccer," Krisnan says. He spends almost no time with their kids, age 9 and 10. "They ask him to go to the park. 'He'll say, 'MT go off! I'll die.' They build Lego castles to express

spurs for battle. They work to upgrade their characters' levels, which brings prestige, power and gold—gold—and that can be addictive. "If I didn't play so much I'd lose my teeth, and you don't want that because you work so hard," says Krisnan's mother, Susan, 56, 26, who's putting in 12-hour days and the odd 18-hour marathon session, on a couch the nearest Field Marshall rank. In China, a gaming haven, the state has begun to enforce three-hour time limits on websites; after that, players' levels decrease. Susan's fiancé would like that. "He constantly complains, 'You have to stop playing and blah blah blah,'" he says. "I'm

"The last time we had sex was when the server went down," says the newlywed. "Now he does soccer!"

him—they're lucky to get a nod. If it were up to him, he'd take a family photo with the durn game by his side."

Allen's a member of a growing number of mostly men who are dumping real life for the online one offered by a new crop of games. His profile is typical. It's no longer adolescent boys but men in their late 20s who drive today's hot billion-gaming market—guys with jobs, guys with wives. "Are I thinking about divorce? Hell, yeah," says Krisnan, who was shocked to learn there are so many women like her they have a name: *gamer widows*.

Sherry Myrnes, a 25-year-old saleswoman, is another such newlywed. Fed up with watching Survivor, dog-sitting and watching her husband, an avid cook, sauté up for finger food dinners, she started the online support group *GamerWidows.com*. Launching last April, it boasts 40 members and offers forums for those who have lost partners to Xbox, PlayStation and other like Myrnes says it's the most enjoyable player online: role-playing games (called MMORPGs) that merge most members.

About 300 million people worldwide play MMORPGs such as *Everquest*, *World of Warcraft*, generating sales of \$1 billion a year in subscription fees alone. The games have no end. Players—often in groups—play mornings, go in quests and acquire items such as magic



SOCCER: It's no longer teen who are driving the gaming market, it's men with wives and jobs.

pretty sure I'll be able to get back into the game a day when I get married. Well, I'm hoping."

His weakness is the current lord of games, *World of Warcraft*. Released last November, it's become famous for the sheer number of hours it demands to "level up" and spawned a dedicated support group on Yahoo!, where posts can be light-hearted or heavy. It's an eye-rolling scene, too, where one body says,

if leaving at night again tonight... I thought my daughter into bed and snuggled with her; I am sick to my stomach. OMG I could actually love my husband to this!! Occasionally, their stories are heartbreaking. One woman wrote in recently: "We were always surrounded by people. Now, however, leaves the computer. He lost his job, gained 60 lbs and refuses to wear jeans and has been having a hard time losing weight. He's stressed in from stress because he didn't win anything after 12 hours on a raid. This formerly sweet man knocked me out the door because I dipped the breaker switch to tell him I was leaving."

For these women, the forum is a lifeline. "They are really isolated," says Venerover, who's been married to a *World of Warcraft* player since 2002 through a chance *Discoquest* addition. Because game addiction is so serious, 8th steps, society has yet to take it seriously. So, what's the appeal? "Many people have really boring lives," says Edward Croteau, a professor and an associate in Indiana University who studies virtual communities. Online, you're in a

fantasy hero in a like-minded community. If you work hard, you will be successful. "I met a powerful online wizard—he works at 7-11 and is doing just enough to keep his body alive."

Some may blame society or family history. *Gamer widows* point to the 19th-century claustrum. Pondering the breakup of her family over a "rampant computer game," Krisnan says: "I'd just like to send William a lot of pictures of my hand with the middle finger sticking up!" ■



THE DON'T-ASK, DON'T-TELL DIVORCE
One day in 2001 Rickie Davidson came home and told his wife of 34½ months, Sally Erickson, that he wanted a divorce. He even filed for one in a Tennessee, Fla. court. Later he told her he'd changed his mind. "Turned out he hadn't," and got arrested and charged against her in 2003 without ever telling Sally. Now she's suing him for fraud. The couple had elaborate pre-marital agreements that included Sally doing one hour of paid work every time she wants,



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The cake, chips and candy diet

Nothing's verboten with intuitive eating—except for gorging when you're not hungry

BY AMY BAKER • Remember all those times your mother told you to bring an umbrella even though it was sunny out, and she was right? But remember how she also made you finish everything on your plate before you could leave dinner? Turns out she may have been wrong on that first. Says diet researcher Elsie Howie, a professor of health science at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, who died 90 years ago, you can't eat only when you feel hungry and that you stop eating before you feel full. Essentially, it's how people who have a healthy relationship with food eat. Still, many

more do not, which is why Canadian obesity researchers at all time high, and 70-year-olds are looking for a dieting magic bullet. Is intuitive eating it?

In a small-scale study published in the *American Journal of Health Education* in November, lead researcher Elsie Howie and his colleagues studied the relationship between intuitive eating and several health indicators among a group of Brigham Young students. They developed the "Intuitive Eating Scale," and their study showed that, overall, those who scored high on the scale were healthier than those with low scale scores. The highly intuitive eaters typically weighed less and had a more positive cardiovascular risk profile

Howie says the goal of developing the scale was to see if intuitive eating could be measured and if there are naturally intuitive eaters. "We found that there are," he says, "and they are more likely to be male than female."

Also, this was not the case for Elsie's husband. "In third grade, my classmates started calling me fatty," he explains. "At that moment, my body became the enemy that was ruining my life. So you separate from the enemy—your body—and force the enemy to become this with which so that it's no longer a force of social pain." By doing, says Howie, creates an intellectual set of rules that you impose on your body so that you lose touch with what it's trying to tell you. You begin to relate to food differently. Instead of responding to internal cues of hunger and satisfaction, you follow rules established by other sources, such as the latest diet.

What's different about intuitive eating, he says, is that all foods are legal. "It's about getting out of the mentality that there are good foods and bad foods. Everything can have a place in a healthy diet. At a dinner, I see forbidden food like junk food at the house, but now we have all types of food, including fruits and veggies, whole-wheat bread and pasta, but also

so cream, chips and candy. It's all here and it's always here, so there's no suggestion that we have to get our share or it will be gone."

Howie concludes that getting away from restrictions and food rules is difficult for many people to accept. They think if they let down their guard they will keep eating forever. The thing is, many will. But those who you have to be aware of your social triggers and identify for circumstances in which you tend to eat when you're not hungry, and then try to avoid or resolve ways to manage situations. "If you're eating for emotional reasons, there are ways other than food to deal with that," he offers. The opposite—just finding something to eat and not remembering in your life so that when you get upset, you take a bubble bath instead of eating, in other words, just get up to do a way that won't put calories in your belly.

So where did it all go wrong? How did we get to fat? Studies have shown that infants and young children have the ability to self-regulate their food intake. Think of infants suckling on their mother's breast. Of course, that came at a body and "feeding time," California pediatrician Barbara Resinger says, gets that "the practice of dieting to our child."

'In third grade, kids started calling me fatty. My body became the enemy.'

den what, when and how much to eat outside intuitive eating is disconnected from their bodies and no longer trusting themselves with food. Resinger, whose business, the Enrichment of Eating, offers counseling, workshops and retreats on intuitive eating, says that not listening to your internal cues creates a reliance on the outside world regarding how to nourish oneself. Don't eat that now, it'll spoil your appetite. Finish your plate and you can have a treat. Second researcher Resinger says intuitive eating works because it is internally driven. "There is no wrong way to eat," he says, "and you're so simply releasing something we are wired at birth to know."

Peter Herman, a professor of psychology at the University of Toronto, says he should know. In 1981, he met a student (with U of T professor Jenn Polivy) breaking the

Diet Habit: The National Weight Alternative, a book that proposed we learn to get back in touch with our feelings of hunger and satiety lines. But, he's had a change of heart. "There just doesn't seem to be much evidence that people can learn to connect with their hunger and satiety," he says, "but that intuition is somehow cognitively regulated, and that whenever we get fat it's because something's gone wrong with that naturally healthy regulatory process. But the closer you look, the less organized you are with how naturally regulate this regulation."

Specifically, relying on our body's intuitive signals, he says, may be easier said than done. "What does mean by 'hunger' or 'satiety' or 'full'?" he asks. "That there is not an all-or-nothing. It's a gradual accumulation of cues. You can be a little bit full or more full, or almost full. It's gradual." He says some are more able to detect when they're starting to become full, while others may not perceive or respond to the cues until they are quite strong. "When people use the word 'hunger,' they may be referring to different sensations," says Herman. "Intuitive eating may be for humans or have a deliberate cultivation where he can detect the onset of satiety, but most people aren't that lucky."

Howie, who is launching the National Institute of Intuitive Eating at the North Valley this summer, makes no claims to a cure-all. "Most obesity experts agree that 80 to 90 percent of body mass is a function of genetics," he says. "The goal of intuitive eating isn't to become an ultra-thin fashion model if that's not in your genes." The goal, he says, is a healthy weight given your genetic makeup and metabolism.

So, happy New Year's resolution time, means, happy diet and happy new year. In about two weeks, happy breaking of the New Year's resolution time. "The most interesting facet of New Year's resolutions says Herman, "is that people make the same resolutions over and over and over again. You'd think that if you vowed to lose weight eight years in a row and haven't done it each time December rolls around, you might think of something more plausible to resolve." Yet people keep going back, drinking this time it will work. "I have a friend who makes a new resolution New Year's resolution each year," says Herman. "Last year he: 'He didn't know if his friend always respects, but at least it's something realistic to suggest to him."

NAKED GEEK

THE NEXT SIN TAX?

BY KEVIN STEELE • "If you can't beat 'em, join 'em" is clearly becoming the motto of governments around the world taking on pornography. Last month, Italy's parliament voted to introduce a 10-per-cent sin tax on all income derived from porn, and, under a motion, sub-committee and advisory inter-parliamentary subscriptions to pornography television channels will jump from a 10-per-cent value-added tax bracket to a 20-per-cent VAT.

In the U.S., meanwhile, Kansas is considering a proposal to impose a special 10 percent tax on businesses offering pornographic services and products. This comes after Utah and Oklahoma each put forth their own legislation culling for a similar levy on pornography and adult services.

In Canada, the list of products that carry a "sin tax" is limited to alcohol and cigarettes (half of each dollar in tax in Canada is levied on the sale of each cigarette). But there are a number of reasons governments might consider a pornography tax, says Jack Mizen, chief executive of the C.D. Howe Institute, a Toronto-based think tank. For one, the additional cost to buy the pornography may be a deterrent to consumers. "You're discouraging the sale of that product," he explains.

What's more, Mizen adds, a pornography tax would be a "revenue raising device for governments," allowing them to boost their own finances.

The cash-strapped Indian government is expected to raise more than 200 million rupees this year because of its new taxes. The Italian tax would bring in more than 10 billion lire annually.

Mizen says that governments generally feel concerned about raising income taxes. "This is one of those taxes that might be more politically acceptable to people," because it would be applied to an industry that is, for the most part, socially unacceptable.

Pornographers would oppose the taxes of course, and the higher cost of products and services could drive potential customers to the Internet, where a pair is mostly free, cautions Mizen. In fact, entrepreneurs might see local businesses close and people out of work. The U.S. also the question of how to collect from businesses already in the underground economy.

And of course there's the problem governments have found since they've made gambling legal—seemingly to be pushing a really, even dangerous business. "If governments have made the income of their companies, then don't the government they may end up promoting the activity because it creates revenue," says Mizen. ■

INDIA: KEEP THE SHOOCHING AT HOME
It's one of the latest government initiatives that will be a part of the country's economic growth. The government has decided to keep the shoe industry at home. The government has decided to keep the shoe industry at home. The government has decided to keep the shoe industry at home.

Touched by drugs

Wiping a keyboard or other surface can now tell parents and employers if the user is, well, a user

BY KARA CRONKWOOD • Early last year Kelly Merriman, the then 13-year-old daughter of Saskatoon, SASK. Ted Merriman, went public about her struggle with crystal meth, a highly addictive street form of methamphetamine, as quoted. The woman had tons of experience with various drugs—marijuana, ecstasy, but crystal meth quickly pulled her down and nearly killed her. By the time she went into recovery, she'd lost 45 lb in two months, had suffered liver damage and was living on chicken soup. Her coming out was not only brave, but it also put a face on Saskatchewan's increasingly worrisome drug problem—one the provincial government has been actively grappling with since 1998. According to a 2004 study, crystal meth use among respondents in the province was 66 per cent for 12- to 34-year-olds, 20 per cent among the 35- to 44-year-olds, and 44 per cent for 45- to 54-year-olds. So it's hardly a surprise that a drug-detection technology used by U.S. Customs and the FBI had its Canadian home in Saskatoon for workplace and home use.

Called DrugWipe, the product can detect minute amounts of drugs—cocaine, marijuana, amphetamines—on almost any surface, as well as on people. Analysis of the wipes can also identify the drug as amphetamine, cocaine, marijuana or opiates. Originally developed in Germany as a non-invasive way for law enforcement agents to check for drugs, DrugWipe is now being marketed to employers and parents. "Companies wouldn't say to us, 'We have to have a drug-free workplace,' but because of the drug-free environment we're in, doing drug testing," says Devona Barley, spokesman for the company InvenSense Canada and CEO of its parent, Corporate Investigations in Saskatoon. "With DrugWipe, he said, 'you're not necessarily testing the whole employee's behavior, but you're testing the company's hardware—keyboards, monitors, internet phones, [and] cell phones. It will tell an employer we found traces of cocaine on that employee and cocaine on the leading desk on the employee himself. It's somewhat protected."

For kids, though, it's a different story. For \$299, Barley's company—six others across Canada will soon be offering the same service—tells people out to wipe down areas of

a child's room, including computers and toys. The sample is taken back to a lab and technicians identify any drugs that are detected. "We go back, talk to the parents, say 'This is what we found, this is where we found it,'" Barley explains. The company puts the parents in touch with a drug counselor. "Some



Screenshots in rock musicians' bedrooms of the wipes can detect which drug has been taken.

parents provide right away to the counseling route, others want to deal with it themselves."

Barley sought legal advice on the implications of the drug-detection technology, as children clearly don't have the same protection of their rights and privacy as employees. "In Saskatchewan, it's parents that control the home, and if their children are under 18 we can scan their bedrooms," he says. "It

addition, with second level called Preempt, children under 16 can themselves be scanned with a wipe on the forehead, palms and fingertips. "Parents have been scanning their kids' rooms for years and listening in on phone calls," Barley adds. "Children tend to tell parents what they think parents want to hear, not what they need to know." In the case of drug use—particularly drugs like crystal meth—it's a question of life and death, he says. "Do you want to walk around or do you want to go to their funeral?"

While the detection tool provides parents with the information they want—and may, in some cases, alleviate long-held fears—some see it as a slippery slope. "The kids will just become better at being deceptive," says David Wells, BSC chair and chair of the school board at the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health and a professor of psychiatry and psychology at the University of Toronto. "They'll simply go off-site." The bigger issue, he adds, is really one of principle. "It is this really the way to approach this? Once you move onto that, you're in a competition with adolescents. And the lack of trust will really escalate. It's a

"We go back, tell the parents, 'This is what we found; this is where we found it'"

desperate measure for desperate people."

Instead, Wells says, concerned parents should talk to their kids and deal with the issue of drugs in the broader community—with the school principal, school policies, with where parents should monitor. "The more of crystal meth is caught out," he adds, "the more it really is a social problem. It's not an selfish issue, not a stem issue. It's our responsibility to try to eliminate the problem, not just catch them doing it." Parents have to give their kids some messages in terms of the harm that drug use causes, Wells cautions, "but they also want to give an opportunity for an alternative: what do I do if I run into that and? What if I do and I like it? Often, encouraging children to talk to another adult they trust—parents are frequently too emotionally invested—may make them feel more invested and responsible. "You can't make them change," Wells says. "They have to do it."

YOU CAN LIE, BUT YOU CAN'T HIDE

Screenshots around the world are showing how the brain controls lies. Functional magnetic resonance imaging is a new technique that shows the neurophysiological difference between lying and telling the truth. Scans, said to be diagnostic MRI, show increased activity in areas associated with emotion, conflict and cognitive control when a person tells a lie. One new work shows that when lying, the truth, it may be even harder work hiding from truth.

Select investments for success: Online tools give you the power



Using the wide range of tools and support available online enhances your ability to make effective investment choices

listings or business articles. Disciplined investors use the tools available to successfully select the investments that best match their investment plan.

Want to create a "just right" blend of stocks, mutual funds and fixed income products? Online screening tools will empower your choices. For example, at InvestorLine.com—ranked Best Online Broker by The Globe and Mail—basic Stock Screeners create a list of stock choices based on pre-defined criteria like viewing stocks yielding high dividends or with a low price-to-earnings ratio.

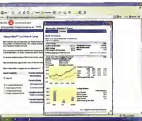
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WOODY, WOMEN AND NYMPHS

With *Match Point*, he serves an ace, and lobs a plum role to Scarlett Johansson. But does Allen love the opposite sex, or is he a thinking girl's misogynist?

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

In person, as on screen, *Scarlett Johansson* has a presence that's so fierce, so in the moment, that she's an inadvertent to her beauty, as if she doesn't quite know what to do with the effect it has on people. I first interviewed her in 2003, at the Toronto premiere of *Last of the Mohicans*. She was only 25 then—the age Mabel Herrington's character finally reaches by the end of *Match Point*. But this woman already had a world away on New York's on the phone from Los Angeles, talking about the term *Woody Allen's Match Point*. Her voice is raw and husky, as it is in her movies, the voice of someone who sleeps sound like she's just getting out of bed.

The actress tells a story about choosing a "Woody was more than I could have asked for. If he asks me to do anything ever, I would work with him in a heartbeat."

could love scene for *Match Point*, in a field under heavy rain. While locked in a long French kiss with Jonathan Rhys-Meyers, the fake intellectual stare in her mouth. "It was cold and wet, and we were really reverently going through it," she recalls. "I told Jonathan, 'Do you mind being a little bit more of a cunt?'"

The more fact that anyone is being kissed with enough passion to draw blood in a Woody Allen movie is just one of the things that makes *Match Point* quite unlike anything the 70-year-old director has ever done. It's a far cry from that creepy moment in *Manhattan* when Allen envelops Herrington in a praying-mantis embrace on the seat of a horse-drawn carriage in Central Park. Or the thunderstorm scene in *Maidenhead* and *Wives* when he clings his mouth, tongue, like, over Juliette Lewis and turns away from

camera to deliver what we can only hope is a postulated stage kiss. Set in Allen's movies tends to be a quietly smoking business, which is why his new movie comes as such a surprise.

Match Point is the most erotic—perhaps the only movie—movie of his career. It's also his best work as a writer. And Johansson, who has already had a second picture with Allen, appears to be his new muse, restoring his career with *Vigors* new confidence. "Woody was more than I ever could have asked for," she says. "The idea was to do anything ever, I would work with him in a heartbeat."

Ever since *Match Point* premiered in Cannes last May, critics have been falling all over each other to sing its praises. As a measure of how far its director has fallen into deepness, their strongest argument is that it doesn't resemble a Woody Allen picture at all. *Match Point* is drama, not comedy. It takes place in London, not Manhattan. It's packed with noir lust, not sentiment. And not only does Allen stay off screen, but for once his actors don't turn into Woody clones and adopt his mannerisms.

For all its freshness, and its lack of cloying of his signature, *Match Point* is classic Allen: take his best, and worst, movies, it makes you wonder just what is the deal with Woody and women: does he love them or hate them? The story answer is both. It's hard to think of another filmmaker—aside from his here, to great fortune—who has devoted a career to cultivating actresses and creating such richly observed female roles. But the more you look at how Allen has portrayed women onscreen, the more he begins to look like the thinking man's (or woman's) misogynist—a brilliant filmmaker engaged in a lifelong session of overreacting therapy as he grapples with his chronic fear and loathing of the opposite sex.

With a previous renaissance of *Criminals and Madonnas*, Allen's new movie is about infidelity, guilt and getting away with murder. It moves like a sharply played game of doubles, agonized along explicit class lines. The story concerns an Irish tennis pro named Chris (Rhys-Meyers) who becomes Chloe, a sunny English heiress (Emily Mortimer), lives

up a cushy job courtesy of her father—then prepares his good fortune by pursuing a dangerous affair with Nola (Johansson), a struggling American actress involved with Chloe's brother. With *Woody Meyers* reading the intricate charms of a more reserved Jude Law, their love has the pull of quicksand. The drama comes down to the dilemma of a man torn between two beautiful but ultimately unattainable women—a plumed English rose who just wants to get pregnant, and a Yale finance female who turns into a shrew and threatens to drag her tennis pro back to his equally working-class roots. The real choice between the mother and the whore.

In writing and directing 36 movies, Allen has created some wonderful female characters, most famously Diane Keaton's Annie Hall. But his films are also riddled with women who are loathsome, ludicrous or pathetic—Meryl Streep's ruthless lobbyist in *Manhattan*, the ill-fated lover played by Annette Bening in *Criminals and Madonnas*, Mira Sorvino's overbearing boss in *Mighty Aphrodite*, Mia Farrow as a club wife in a string of films—and a legion of others, virtuous and vicious, embarrassing themselves as cocktail parties.

Impaled by all these crazy adult women, Woody wonders his own sense of the nymph who's young enough to be his daughter. She's the high school kid who dates in *Manhattan*, the young niece he takes on the movies in *Criminals and Madonnas*, the enigmatic

THEIR LUSTY JOHANNSSON (left), going out of bounds with Rhys-Meyers



The spy thriller's stuck in a post-Cold War funk. What we need is a John Buchan.

In *Wild East*, an anthology of tales from Europe, the author's hilarious "Wickedness Square," a girl plot about a man saving each side is running scot-free the other. The same man diplomat in keeping an eye on for that he was seen to eat "fully" as an Ottoman Embassy there in 1546. Ottomanism is collapsing. But, even as the street

hearing through, each rebuffs the surveillance officer in hopes of clearing its leverage on the others; then, their talk of being replaced by Havel, usually if to conduct "our" first themselves-folding situation.

The stranger sensed the Carpathians would exhortative dictator-ies, thence every free would come to an end, his country."

"I served mistrust their on dragging while, out for everyone but them a laser," complains the the had already paroled wright, letting him out, now was the time a drafted cable co. Wode. "This will all blow over now!"

ard, remember that, by
pose, the real CIA's ma-
Germany was the world's
one. But it wasn't only

Western or Soviet intelligence that got inside an Arabic own house? So did it say novel stuff? In 1999, just like Aaron Fowers, they lost their track. The "evidence," "dead drops," "walking back the cat," the "situation seemed as quietly obnoxious as those of an ill-but-charismatic When Goli happened, the Cold War "widespread of rumors" — all appear to be less relevant than his first meeting, with Osama as a Bolshevik representative and al Qaeda as Spectre. At the beginning of the Afghan campaign, CNN produced a fancy computer simulation of Osama's supposed underground lair in Tora Bora.

If a global terror campaign that blows up Bali, Madrid and the London Tube can't revive the brand what can?

showing the woman entirely followed out with a state of the-art inverted Tupper Ware extending down into the ground all the way to Sub-Basement Level 45, in which up-downs post-humous Hissman could be found sinking his Porcupine and peering, "Not so fast, Mr. Bush." Also, a couple of weeks later, when Special Forces got to the al Qaeda caves, they discovered they were just that, caves—as in dirty, smelly, cramped and not always scrupulous about sticking to the jihadist laundry-lists some.

But four years on and the spy thriller's sell made in the post-9/11 War Frank. It's a ritual

never changes that view of Bill, Melinda and the London Tax. It's not enough to reveal the fraud, what if it's halfhearted, the problem with the loss of the old cherry—Sister Charon—has the whole wilderness-of-sinners approach to it. Robert S. Taylor's novel inside the CIA's code Cold War: The Game—has a score in which a character, almost anyone, the times that they are not in it. It's possible messages. If the statement is true, that could mean the guy's false detector had some true stuff in it. I speak here a false detector. But, if the statement's false, that could mean the guy's false detector is one of those true detectors who appears to be more plausible by getting it all things wrong. But the result of this approach is that the default world of the entire game becomes a paradox in which game played by two sets of our minds.

The "moral ambiguity" tick doesn't even fully transfer to the global band, even if Quebec were willing to play along. What's the student protest in any John Le Carré novel? No. The word *Mis* is name-madging based more on his dog's *Blackball* offer through *Blackball* run acrossed across to the dirty life with the terrible, but a disposition on dental affairs delivered by a character called *Demetri*. In his most recent novel, *Absolute Friends*, Le Carré has abandoned moral ambiguity for an unambiguous opposition to the blundering Third powers, and as such *Demetri*'s lecture concludes with a *hard* on *Demetri*'s *Demetri*.

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"I have informed each of them as to the Casino's Secret Menu, Fulla's Awarded Hot Boy, who leads her a different way of losing, your friend George Morchoff and Mark Curtis, Australia's John Pilger, America's Nobel Chomsky, the Austrian Nobel Prize winner Joseph Stiglitz and the Franco American Susan George of World Social Forumist Porto Alegre. You have read all of these fine writers, Mr. Mandy?"

Even if Mr. Mandy hasn't, Mr. Le Carre in *The Spy Who Went Into the Main Building* (who needs a thriller that ends like the best hit to the Guardian's Christmas party).

The best of the Cold War specialists has a case that could earn up the entire genre: "Reality was poison. Too many people, over too many years, had failed to see the truth so he



John H. Holland's novel *Greenmantle* was published in 1915.

able to recognize it now." Those words were uttered by a spook created by Charles McCarty, a former CIA agent himself and the core figure in literary espionage in the "70s. McCarty was critically out of print by the dawn of the new century. Now Overlook Press is republishing his great series of satirical novels.

ICMA runs Paul Christopher, beginning with the most persuasive of the Neomystic conspiracy theories, *Shant of Aeonism*. One early chapter in Paris manages to distill two great currents of the age—the grubby idealism of surrealism and the caricatured *realist* nihilism—into a single magnificent dinner-party scene. Last month, Overlook released a second Paul Christopher novel from the same period, *The Mithras Dossier*, whose sharp satirists of UN agencies and charismatic Mus-

his works (the novel sits up in bed) remind you that McCarty would have no trouble writing a great September 11th novel. He produced, among other things, one of the best satires of the 'twentys years—the Clinton interlude between the Cold War and the 9/11. In *Lucky Bastard*, the peppy president is, in fact, a nefarious Soviet agent and the other half of the First Couple, the endurance of whose marriage is otherwise inexplicable, is his BGR handler.

If McCauley isn't innocent, maybe Alan Furst might like to give it a go. He's the author of all those novels set in wartime Europe and racking up period detail, sometimes to the neglect of any narrative energy. But he has a more serious moral intelligence than most of the Cold War boys, and the situation of his protagonists—diffident rela-

In a satire of the Clinton years, the priapic president is a Soviet agent. His wife's his KGB handler.

cent homes sandwiched between advancing Muslims and advancing Christians—wouldn't be so difficult to transfer to, say, moderate Muslims or beleaguered European progressives. The Trotsky line that opens *Night Soldiers*—"You may not be interested in war, but you're interested in you!"—applies as much to the Continent today as it does to Putin's Europe of 70 years ago.

"Islam is a fighting creed, and the mullah still stands in the pulpit with the Koran in one hand and a drawn sword in the other. Supposing there is some Ark of the Covenant which will madden the remotest Moslem potent with dreams of Paradise? What then, my friend?"

Sir Walter Bullivant, of the Foreign Office, posed that question to Major Richard Harnory in Chapter 1 of *Grosvenor's Nine*. Decades later, Sir Walter's successors are struggling to

in power. At Carvel's vicereine, John Swales (1000-1050) transformed the Governor-General's Literary Awards. I doubt whether Swales could even get nominated these days, and his more muscular prose would be more likely to get him referred to the RCMP's "charismatic division." But surely somewhere in some less staid bureaucratic jurisdiction there's an author willing to take up the (grass) mantle. ■

MACLEANS

BESTSELLERS

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Fiction		LAST WEEK
1. THE LIGHTHOUSE by F.D. James	470	
2. THE GSA by John Grisham	470	
3. THE TIME IN BETWEEN by Donald Rayson	440	
4. THE HISTORY OF LOVE by Nicole Krauss	410	
5. THE FELLOWSHIP by Margaret Atwood	340	
6. KNIFE OF DECEITS by Robert Jordan	290	
7. A HISTORY OF UNWOMANHOOD by Shara Subotkin	270	
8. A PERFECT NIGHT TO GO TO CHINA by David Shields	40	
9. THE DA VINCI CODE by Dan Brown	290	
10. A MAP OF GLASS by John Updike	40	

Non-fiction

1. POSITION by Tony Juffe	9.45
2. TRICKS TO THE HANGING Lippert Truitt	1.65
3. THE FEAR OF MAGICAL THINKING by Joan Stebbins	2.65
4. THE GREAT WEST FOR CIVILIZATION by Robert Park	3.95
5. MY KIDNAP LEGIONARY by James Frey	.00
6. TEACHER MAN by Frank McCourt	2.95
7. THE SECOND BOOK OF RINGS by Garance Gibbon	4.50
8. TREASONBAGS by Steven D. Swartz and Stephen J. Dubner	1.00*
9. THE FIRST PARADISE by Jonathan Hare	\$9.95
10. THE LONGEST NIGHT by Garin Mosteller	.00



LEFT: WAS A BANG? (captioned) the scene where several women were beaten in a violent crowd scene

The world, the flesh and the devilish poet

Irving Layton linked Canada, poetry and passion unlike anyone else before or since

BY ROY MACKINNON • It's hard to imagine Irving Layton without his memory. The most famous part was a great lover and lover who spent time in jail in a beautiful woman — an undocumented both in his life and in his writing. But Layton spent his last days in a beautiful life. Once Canada's most renowned and controversial poet, he died from Alzheimer's disease at 93 in Montreal on Jan. 4. He was an off-mannered man whose turbulent love life became as notorious as his poetry, yet at the height of his creative power in the 1950s and '60s, Layton transformed Canadian literature through his brilliant sensuality and emotional power. His writing more than anyone before or since, he got Canadians excited about poetry and the possibility of living with passion.

This was never lost in a society defined, as Layton saw it, by a repressive Christian morality. He was a heavy champion of the cause when sexual mores were frozen in conservatism. In poems such as "Diversity" and "The Day After Tomorrow" he openly wore his sexuality on the sleeve of his mind. His sexual stance defied the rigidity of the prudish and the phobic. Rejecting an ivory construction of poetry, he claimed for himself the music of Hebrew prophets and named the true poet "addressed mankind at large, not small circles of the academic and enlightened."

Layton was also a musician who exposed passion's dark side — human frailty and evil. His magnificent baritone voice, cold or self-promoter, he notified his audiophiles. Waiting for the Messiah, the chosen one being himself — if he had it, written in superbly. Under the baritone and beguilingly by a rare gift that produced a list of enduring poems. Many of the best are in *A Red Gas for the Devil*, which won the Governor General's Award for poetry in 1999. Layton drew on a mix of traditional and contemporary

styles, his oracular voice inducing them with stirring imagery and a moralistic theme.

He was born in Montreal in 1912 in a Jewish family that emigrated to Montreal the next year. He grew a poet and taught in the working-class ethnic neighborhood of the city. He was a poet and taught in the working-class ethnic neighborhood of the city. He was a poet and taught in the working-class ethnic neighborhood of the city.

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on politics, religion and morality. An inspiring teacher, Layton mentored younger writers, including Leonard Cohen and Al Purdy, with an exceptional generosity of spirit. His first-born son, Mike, once referred to these poems as his father's "personal poem." The difficulty of being his natural offspring became clear when Layton's younger son, David, produced *Myself*, a memoir of life with father. Born to Layton in the long time that partner Anna Layton, David depicted his upbringing, not without affection, as well as emotional chaos, his aging dad as most acutely self-absorbed.

This dark side view mirrored the author's long, painful earlier by Layton's biographer, Eliezer (Carmichael) originally detailed his struggle with his son's memoir, including his son's memoir, which he found the 66-year-old poet and became mother of his youngest child, and Anna Pariser, his first partner, who ended up leaving him. Carmichael's portrait reduced Layton to an overindulgent man's boy, a crude portrait on the mark.

Such negative assessments were perhaps inevitable. Both the sexual revolution and feminism had overruled Layton, rendering his attitudes and behaviour undeniably naive. But none of these his son's in the eyes of his followers. When he turned 85 in 1997, already stricken with Alzheimer's, Montreal's Jewish and Jewish communities picked the *Greatest Theorem* for a giant birthday bash. It was Layton's last public appearance. At a evening of readings, nostalgia and testimonials, and he was overwhelmed with love. He was declared "the soul of the city," Leonard Cohen stated. "We have anyone, so maybe one of the greatest writers the West has ever produced."

Layton, his mane now white, looked on in wonder and smiled slowly. "Glorious," he said, when asked how he felt. "I'm trying to keep up with the world." M



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HUMANITARIANISM
Harriet Steensma's
newly-bred capital
taste of bacon, and
America-born past
the city's 200,000
a day for the city's
out of canine-epi-

Still, biodynamic has its appeal. It offers authenticity in a world in which wines are more generic worldwide due to reliance on commercial yeasts and a handful of grape varieties. Some consumers will choose biodynamic wine over others and perhaps even pay more for it one day. Right now, they don't have to. Despite being labour-intensive and expensive to produce, biodynamic wine doesn't cost more than conventionally produced bottles of the same quality. You can't say the same for tomatoes. ■

Hamel Steenslein has a dream for overlooked gourmets in the world's food capital, Paris. It's craggy cat-shaped boudoirs that taste of bacon, and exquisite cockles of pilaf fit five gals. The American-born pastry chef recently opened a bakery catering to the city's 200,000 dogs. "Bacon for Chien" makes 200 to 300 items a day for the city's swamped poodles. If Parisians become envious of canine indulges, the treats can also be eaten by humans.



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WHAT WOULD JACKIE DO? Well, for one thing, she'd sleep sipping up coffee this week like her boss. Try this.

Speak softly and marry a big spender

A new book uses Jackie O as the ultimate social barometer for dispensing advice

BY JUDIA KIMBLE — Carly Simon tells the story of finding herself isolated in a hostile new nation as a woman who, she says, had fallen around with her boyfriend. Simon felt like she was like that on a thought come to mind. "What would Jackie do?" Jackie being Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, the former first lady and a friend of the singer-songwriter. "In my mind, my voice resounded," says Simon. "I assumed a position of great dignity. And I just sort of became my posture. Once I was Jackie in my mind, I was above it all."

Even years after her death, a dot on New York's Manhattan skyline is a standard-bearer for graceful behavior. Simon is applying for a job as a book editor at Doubleday, Jackie's former employer. The reason is simple: "Jackie O was a great lady. These are going to be some tough shots to fill. She had style, grace, and gave me the feeling you can pick up on the street."

You can authors of a new book would use to believe that you can acquire grace. *What Would Jackie Do?* uses Jackie O as the ultimate social barometer for dispensing advice to women on all manner of topics from dress to childcare, for instance, your husband is having an affair. What would Jackie do? Authors Shelley Brunsch and Gay Colwell dug into biographies and interviews with Jackie O's friends to come up with a detailed strip of what exactly it was that Jackie did in the same circumstances, and not necessarily how you might conduct yourself. (John F. Kennedy and Aristotle Onassis were both unfaithful to her. In his particular case, "unfaithful" is the word. "Rather than... around the White House down to her, Jackie used informal channels in 1962 by going away overnight with her chairman Gianni Agnelli on the *Amalfi coast*," says Brunsch and Colwell. "The point was: lost on an island JFK, who was a true cable to Italy. A little more Caroline

and less Agnelli?" Jackie's response? She went to the White House with Agnelli on a "weekend trip. Caroline was there."

The authors also suggest turning your rich and powerful husband by giving him a baby nickname. JFK's was "Buster." Brunsch is repeatedly reminded of the advice Jackie's father gave her: "When men are concerned, always, always play hard to get, which Jackie apparently took to heart. When the tale of two most blonde people in the same dress, the story of the crime, you... hardly cry away your man's cover of a happy marriage. Sud-

Jackie would be a good brainy book: 'I've never heard of that' when really she'd read the whole thing

denly business colleagues, relatives and the dry cleaner all require explanations—sugaring words for him and sympathy for you. On Brunsch, Jackie discovered the effectiveness of speaking softly. "Gentlemen often found the trait seductive," as her near whisper forced them to lean in closer to her chest. "Don't Speak Me Stupidly" is another recommendation. "Don't overthink your dinner with early birds and sea urchins (joking in Russian over dinner, for example)." Jackie was famously self-deprecating and the authors suggest you, too, "toss your weight down a peg or two." Carly Simon remembers pe-

ters in which some stuffed shirt would start prying on about a "bratty book he'd read, trying to impress Jackie, and Jackie would say, 'I've never heard of that,' when actually she'd read the whole thing."

On dress and fashion, Jackie refused to compromise on what she'd allow herself to be seen in, often sporting trends in favor of uniqueness. In December 1960, she wore a new to her official occasion: "I wore all of [my clothes] as he brought and so far little woman heaping around in the same dress." Still, Jackie had an eye, she'd wear it again and again. From this, the authors advise, "the man's got a damn about what's wearing red lips or even fashion press might have to say about reporting your presence here. Jackie would Onassis in every look. Jackie had high collar number she'd wear to a friend's special social number the other." She was a little above her hair, however. In a bit (1961) "I'm, Her Presence is Permissible," the authors describe how, before driving in an open-top car with JFK, Jackie had a female White House staffer told her to wear a hat. "She was a convert and a support back on the hair treasury. Beyond that, Brunsch and Colwell suggest that when "thoracic" on an island able to help you help, "you to sleep fitting up to preserve the style," Jackie apparently employed this technique in Greece. "The people would be shocked at white reading," write the authors, or learn "the way" and "cover your forehead with a beautiful silk scarf." M



MOST IMPROVED SHIRLEY MACLAINE

After giving a grumpy, impatient performance at the Toronto film festival last September, Shirley MacLaine seems to have recovered her crackling sense of humor, saying last month that Vince Vaughn is "in love with her and not Jennifer Aniston." "It was me in the car with Vince in Arizona and I was hooked. The hearing is a hell and Jennifer is taking all the pain." Then she added, "I love Jennifer. I'll stay most of you. Leave the girl alone."

CLARE KATZ

Fame, lunacy and the Big O



SCOTT FERGUSON

Entertainment briefs of the future

Oprah Thrilled by Choice

CRAIG—Oprah Winfrey says she's "over the moon" to have become the first African American woman to appear on the July issue of *O, the Oprah Magazine*. This marks the talk show host's first appearance on the cover of the popular lifestyle magazine since June.

"The magazine's editor told me last night and I was like, 'Wow! Anyone would be proud! It's such an incredible honor,'" Winfrey said. During its illustrious history, *O* has featured on its cover such international celebrities as

In a congenitally unrelated story, Winfrey announced that she has accepted for another month the contract of the editor of *O, the Oprah Magazine*.

Are You, Possibly, on Screen

Since Winfrey—CBS announced yesterday that it will cancel the sitcom *Still Standing*, as naming the show is still on the air.

"That's the choice with the *Still Standing* Fall Monday, night," the network's president said. "Yeah, we're canceling that. That show definitely wasn't behind next season, assuming that was back then. Which I'm pretty sure it was."

He continued, knowing he had thought: *Still Standing*, a show that had Monday just the other day in the network's schedule. Why else would he be there if we're not still making that show? I guess all I can say for sure is that his show was, possibly, an okay show."

Brinary Survives Nightmare

WOLFE—Brinary Spence is recovering after a harrowing 12-hour ordeal in which she completely froze while she was famous on the first plane. "I was totally sick," Spence said in an exclusive interview conducted at her bedside. "It was like I forgot my name, except I knew my name. So I guess it was more like forgetting your name when you're famous. Which is actually what it was, actually."

The nightmare began during a dinner party at the house Spence shares with her husband, Kevin Feinberg, and their young child. "Kevin had just served the party chicken, and one of my friends said, 'Oh, look! It's like, 'So, for, when you go back to work?'" And she was, like, this point. And then I was like, 'What? WHOA! I totally forgot when I did.'"

A camera in the medical scenes was quickly released. Working from the evidence, which

dinner guests assembled a list of potential occupations that included waitress, TV star and actress. "Oh, that waitress," Spence said, rolling her eyes. "Because I like 'ing.' The mystery is to the source of Spence's fame was asked when, during an interview on a magazine, one of the dinner guests finally looked at her chest.

Mandel Honored for Decade's Achievement

HOLLYWOOD—It was Mandel's decade of honor. Wednesday night as friends and family gathered to mark the 10th anniversary of when he was honored, it involved no getting involved in a single glove on any hand. Mandel restrained in his speech. "No, seriously,

Tom Cruise wants the tabloids to bring back the rumour that he's gay, because he prefers it to the rumour that he's crazy

It was pretty funny. Honest. I think I even did. Can't. But one night people just stopped laughing. And I had nothing to say."

The coming weekend release was broken with the presentation to Mandel of a gift—a set of question marks, which denote success in the printed form, so that he can be honored as a "question mark."

Cruise Not Crazy, Cruise Says

Since you're—Tom Cruise is demanding that celebrity tabloids bring back the rumour about his sexual orientation, because public opinion is the rumour that he's crazy.

"I must say, but I've never been crazy," Cruise said last night during an appearance on David Letterman's talk show.

"The tabloids will write anything. They'll make stuff up. They'll say, 'Look, that Tom Cruise is crazy! He went on national television and he wasn't wearing any pants,' said Cruise, who was patient, and later admitted that wasn't the best choice of examples.

It has been a difficult stretch for Cruise, whose image as a white-knuckled action star has been sullied by his over-the-top proclamations of affection for his girlfriend, Katie Holmes, and the mother of her child, which he has promoted his association with Scientology. His 40th birthday was in May. "Crazy like a Ford publicity tour of April, 2006—designed to repair his public persona—didn't help much, what with all the implausible chattering. M

Scott Fergusson can be reached at scott@scottferguson.ca

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MACLEAN'S



EDWARD LORENZ

1936-2005

A Sox fanatic and gifted bowler, his game got better with age—'just like a good bottle of wine'

Edward William Lorenz was born on Oct. 16, 1936, and grew up in an area of Chicago not far from Comiskey Park, then home to his beloved Chicago White Sox and where kids did often playcatch in his back yard. He had two brothers and two sisters but was the youngest by 17 years. First, his father, worked as a cobbler, a butcher and as a cook on the railroad, eventually settling his family in Murranau, a village southwest of Kalamazoo, Mich. The family's home sat by a creek in Florida that offered Ed plenty of room to play ball and pitch baseball.

He was 15 when his father, a drinker, died of cirrhosis. Ed began working at W.T. Grant's department store as a stock boy to help support his mother, Irene. At W.T. Grant's, he met Mary Collins, a young salesclerk, and married her on Sept. 2, 1955. The couple moved to Kalamazoo, where Ed found work in a machine operator at the Fuller Manufacturing Company, which produced transmissions for heavy-duty trucks. Shortly after their marriage and the birth of the couple's first child, Debbie, Ed discovered bowling.

"I got to know someone who bowled four times a week," and Mary, now 69, Ed developed an unusual hobby. "He played out wide," said Jim Press, a friend. "He'd stand to the right and the ball would go down and in. And he would hit it right after me." He owned games, Ed, a lifelong fan of both the Chicago Bears and the White Sox, followed current affairs. "Sometimes he'll have two different games on—one on TV, one on the radio," said Mary Mazzuchelli, who said Ed had three more children: Laura, Edward Jr. and Shelby. Recalled Shelby, now 34, of her father last week: "He bowled all the time."

Ed enjoyed spaghetti, goaldens, hamburgers and meat loaf. "Dad's love for spaghetti," said Mary. He read western pulp, particularly Louis L'Amour. "He didn't have much of a sense of humor when he was with me, anyway," recalled Mary. In 1969, Ed and Mary visited Las Vegas. "He fell in love with it," she said. "I think he loved the gambling part of it." It became Ed's lifelong dream to retire to Nevada.

By 1961, Ed had worked for Fuller for more than 25 years and was also months from retirement. Then the plant shut down, forcing his benefits. "He was very distraught," said Mary. "It was hard for a 31-year-old guy to go out and find work," she said, adding, "He was never afraid of work." Ed found a job at Bunting Bearings Corp., a Kalamazoo plant that manufactures machine parts. Ed also found Alberta Kasper. "It was Ed that pursued me," and Alberta, now 64. "Gee, we'd be talking quite a bit. I guess that's kind of how a relationship starts. You know."

He and Mary divorced in the late 1960s. "I knew he had gone to work at a new place and that's where he met this Alberta," said Mary. "I lost the person I loved most in the world."

Ed retired from Bunting in 1991 and, leaving Alberta behind, settled in a Las Vegas trailer park, just as he'd planned. "Losing money makes games," said Press. For a year and a half, Ed was back in Kalamazoo, moving in with Alberta for the first time. "He kind of missed me," she remembered. Ed also returned to bowling, playing in four leagues and achieving a consistent average in the 120s, a near-professional feat. "Ed got better with age—just like a good bottle of wine," said Johnny Moxon, head of the Kalamazoo Micro Bowling Association, which inducted Ed into its hall of fame last year. On his 68th birthday, Ed scored his first 300—a perfect 12-strike later, during that same week, he scored a second perfect game.

On Dec. 28, Ed was at Arvey's Lanes playing on the Schoharie Little League when he scored his last 300. Later, he was sitting with his friend Mike Kasper when he complained of chest pain. Ed had dived a 10-pine office to drink a black-and-white and was starting to use a cane. "Could he be inquisitive?" asked Mike. "He said, 'I don't think so.' And that's the last thing he said." Mike recalled Ed clutched his chest, his face turned red and then he collapsed. Two nurses who happened to be bowling nearby arrived, followed by paramedics. Ed died there in Arvey's Lanes. "We would have no way to say to you that, that would be it," said Johnny Moxon.

BY MICHAEL SCHWARTZ



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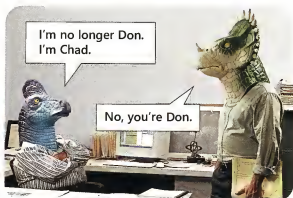
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